COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" For, all that passes *inter nos*
" Might be proclaimed at Charing-Cross."
POPE.

TO WILLIAM BOSVILLE, ESQ.

DEAR SIR;

FEW things have given me greater pleasure than to hear, that you resisted the mandates of the venal crew, on the night of what they called a day of *Jubilee*, and, in spite of the yells of their drenched mob, consisting chiefly of Jews and foreigners, refused to be guilty of that basest of all acts, namely, the exhibiting of signs of joy while (being a true friend to your country) sorrow and shame were at the bottom of your heart. Yes, it would, indeed, have been a cruel mortification to hear, that, from any motive whatever, and especially from the beggarly motive of saving a few pounds in glass, you, who, perhaps, of all men living prove by your practice, that you best know the real use of money, and whose abhorrence of hypocrisy is proverbial amongst all those who have the honour to know you; it would, indeed, have been a cruel mortification to hear, that you should, on any account that can be named or thought of, have been induced to give the proceedings of that day the semblance of your approbation; and, I must confess, that, of all the numerous proofs of good sense, independence of mind, public spirit, and a contempt of hypocrisy, which have appeared upon this occasion, none has given me so much satisfaction as to hear that your hospitable dwelling became an object of the violence of a herd, whose attachment and whose services had been purchased with offal from the shambles, and with dregs from the cellar, to fill whose bellies and to turn whose brains a robbery had been committed upon the dogs and the hogs.

Of my sentiments, relative to the keeping of a Jubilee upon account of the king's having entered on the fiftieth year of his reign, you are, through the pages of the Register, already put in possession. Here, therefore, I shall content myself with a few observations upon the manner of the celebration, and on certain remarkable incidents, which ought, while they are fresh in our memory, to be put upon record.

And, first, pray notice the trick, resorted to, in order to excite a *shouting*, and other signs of joy amongst *the people*. You will remember, that, when any one, no matter whom, or upon what ground, has stood forward in defence of popular rights and privileges, though those rights and privileges are clearly established by the constitution, such person has, by those who have now called for a Jubilee, always been represented as a courter of the mob; as appealing to the passions of the people, and not to their reason; as a demagogue, whose object it was to seduce the ignorant crowd by flattering their vanity, and filling their heads with false notions of their own importance. Well, now, then, let these high-minded gentlemen, who have talked so prettily against flattering the mob into an adoption of one's views; let them tell us, what, if it be base to flatter the mob into an approbation of one's doctrines; if that be an act of baseness; if it be an act of baseness to obtain the plaudits of the common people by the means of words; if that be an act of baseness, let them tell us how we shall characterize the conduct of those, who have purchased, actually bargained for and bought, the shouts of the half-starved people, not with flattery, not with empty words, but with food and drink; who have clubbed their pounds for the purpose of bribing those, *who wanted a meal*, to put up shouts of *joy* for the *prosperity*, in which they *have lived*, and are *still living*. Really the story you told me, during our journey from Honiton, about the fellows whom you saw in Morocco, hardly comes up to this. The Jews, Contractors, Pensioners without services, Sinecure Placemen, Nabobs, and the rest of the tribe, who set the Jubilee on foot, and whom, to prevent repetition, we may as well call the Jubilee crew: These people have the impudence to pretend, that it was proper for *the people* to rejoice on the 25th of October, because they were in the *enjoyment of prosperity*; but, you perceive that they were not content to leave this *prosperity* to produce the wished-for shouts. If the people felt themselves so happy; if

they had enjoyed, and were enjoying, *such prosperity as to call for a Jubilee*, they would, of course, rejoice, they would sing and dance and shout, without being fed and drenched by way of hire to sing, dance, and shout. Of the particular time the mass of the people might, indeed, be ignorant; but, then, it was easy to inform them of that; and, if they felt an inclination to rejoice, they would, of course, have rejoiced. But, the hypocrites knew the situation of the people too well to expect them to put up *voluntary* shouts of joy; and, therefore, they, as the least of two evils, resolved upon purchasing those shouts; so that, as the thing now stands, those, to whom the gift of a single meal of food and drink was an object worth solicitation; aye, these very wretches are said to have shouted for joy on account of *the prosperity they have enjoyed and are still enjoying*. As to the people of England, properly so called, the Jubilee crew knew very well that it was useless to appeal to them. They, therefore, addressed themselves to the *twelve hundred thousand* miserable creatures, called paupers; to these they tendered their offal and their dirty drink; to these they tendered that rarity, that luxury, a belly-full; and, it is to the shouts of these poor creatures, thus purchased, that they bid us refer for a knowledge of the public sentiment. *Sentiment*, indeed! Aye, if, like Congreve's soldier, their brains lie in their belly, these wretched beings may, upon this occasion, be said to have given utterance to their sentiments. Talk of Paine's *seducing* the ignorant! What did he *give them* in exchange for their plaudits? Men of honest minds count it very base to purchase, at an election or elsewhere, the shouts of those who are willing to sell them for food and drink; but, the case of the Jubilee has this aggravated circumstance belonging to it, that the poor wretches *necessarily* expose themselves to the charge of falshood and hypocrisy. The man, who shouts at an election, *may*, by bare possibility, be sincere, and may utter well-merited praise. But, the creature, *who is in want of a meal;* for, observe, the Jubilee subscriptions were for the purpose of *feeding the poor;* the receiver, the feaster, the *convive*, must, to entitle him to a seat at the festive board, be in want of a meal; and, this wretch, whose very presence upon the occasion implies that he lives a life of almost starvation, shouts for joy for the *prosperity* he has enjoyed and is still enjoying. There have, of late years, so many things taken place, degrading to the character of this country, that one cannot say, without much time for reflection, which of them is the *most* so; but, the *least* so, certainly is not this subscription, (from the purses of those, who, in one way or another, live upon the taxes,) for the purpose; for the openly avowed purpose, of giving the people a meal of victuals and drink; and, as if it were a subject of great national pride, our hireling prints announce to the world, that Englishmen have, for once, for once in this long reign, had a belly full. What a subject for national exultation! And, as if this did not render the mixture of folly and baseness complete, these same prints, and also the crew by whom they are paid, are continually reminding us of our happy state, *compared to that of the people of other countries*. Nay, one of the specific topics of rejoicing is, that we are much more happy than other nations are; and yet, in the very same breath, we proclaim, that there are thousands and hundreds of thousands of our countrymen, who are in want of a meal; to whom the gift of a single meal of victuals is an object of importance; with whom to have had a belly-full will become a *memorable* epoch.

Upon an occasion like the Jubilee, it would have been strange indeed, if any one of the pensioned rhyme-makers, and still more strange if that indefatigable grinder of doggerel, Mr. FITZGERALD, had been silent. The stuff, which has, within these three weeks, been poured, I had almost said puked, out upon the public, in the form of verse, upon the subject of the Jubilee, would add to the disgrace of any nation upon earth, England only excepted. The song of "*God save the King*," that piece of clumsy and stupid flattery, without one poetical thought or elegant expression, has, I perceive, been sung in *many of the churches*, whose congregations have, in this respect, become the rivals of the Covent Garden *row*. But, the pieces, written for the occasion of the Jubilee, are infinitely more fulsome, more gross, and, if possible, more stupid, than that song: and, in no other country upon earth would there have been found men so shameless as to give them circulation in print. I have, however, noticed these effusions of stupidity and baseness only for the purpose of shewing the falsehood of a part of one of them, and I am desirous of exposing that falsehood,

because it relates to a fact of some political importance, and with respect to which great pains have been taken to mislead, deceive, and abuse that part of the people, who are not, and cannot be expected to be, well-informed upon such matters.——To those who were the proposers of the Jubilee, the question was put: "What has been done, during this "long reign, in *favour of the freedom of the "people?*" It was easy to point out how much had been done *against* that freedom; and, after long consultation, the advocates for the Jubilee discovered, that, during the present reign, that Act was passed, which "rendered the JUDGES independent of "the crown." It would be easy to shew, that the crown can, at all times, bestow, by promotion at least, great favours upon any of the Judges, nor, if every thing else be right, especially if the people be fairly and fully represented in parliament, do I think that, if it could be done, such power ought to be taken from the king. But, the thing, alluded to, is of a very different nature indeed. The Judges *formerly* held their places *during the pleasure of the king*; that is to say, he could, at any time, without cause assigned, put any one of them out of his place, in the same manner as an officer of the army. *Now* the king cannot do that; for, by an express statute, the Judges hold their places *during good behaviour*, and of that good behaviour the king is not the sole judge. In short, a Judge cannot now be displaced, unless upon proof, and very satisfactory proof, too, of his having been guilty of that which renders him unworthy of his high and important station, and upon the address of both Houses of parliament.——This was a great thing done in favour of the real liberty of the people; a very great thing indeed; and accordingly, the pensioned poet, FITZGERALD, thus revives the memory of it in his "ODE *for the Royal Jubilee,*" published in the Morning Chronicle of the 26th of October, and hawked about the streets of London on the day before.

"The upright Judges of the Land,
"From Worldly Influence free,
"Were *made by his benign Command;*
"The surest Pledge of Liberty!
"*This Act alone endears his Name,*
"Beyond the Pride of Cressy's fame!
"By this our Rights are made secure,
"And the deep Spring of Justice pure!"

Lest this should not be clearly comprehended by every reader, the poet has put into a note, the following explanation: "The first act of *his present Majesty's* "*reign* was, *to render the Judges independent* "*of the crown.*"——Now, the whole of this, poetry as well as prose, is an *unmixed falsehood*; and, seeing that it must have been written for the purpose of *deceiving* the people, and, of course, of answering a bad end, it is what PALEY denominates "A LIE." There is not a word of truth in it from the beginning to the end; it is as false as it would be to say, that the king came down from Heaven in a coach, drawn by eight cream-coloured horses. It is, in short, a downright lie, and nothing can make it either more or less.——The Act in question was that famous act of parliament, commonly called the ACT OF SETTLEMENT, and this act was passed in the 12th and 13th year of the reign of KING WILLIAM III, and in the year 1700, a hundred and nine years ago, before any of the family of Brunswick came to the throne of this kingdom.——The *twenty third* act, passed in the reign of the present king, made a provision about the Judges' commissions in case of the *death of a king*; because, upon such occasions, all commissions granted by the king dies with him, and must be renewed by his successor, or else they cease. The commissions of the Judges had, without any exception, been renewed by all the succeeding sovereigns from William III. to George III; but, in order to put the matter at rest for ever, it was enacted, at the time referred to, that, at the death of a king, *the commissions of the Judges should not need renewing.* That was all. *This* king gave up not one fraction of *his* power; an act was passed that took away the bare possibility of an exercise of a little kingly power; but, it took that, *not from this king*, but from *his successor.* Indeed, it is notorious, that this act of parliament had nothing at all to do in rendering the Judges independent of the crown; and, of course, that the whole of poet Fitzgerald's assertion, prose and verse, is a gross falsehood, intended to impose upon that part of the people, who cannot be expected to have an intimate acquaintance with such matters.——Has it never struck you, as a matter of wonder, how these deceivers, these political impostors, can *look one another in the face?* It is Voltaire, I believe, who observes, that he wonders how two monks can pass one another in the street without bursting out into laughter. But, many of

the monks are themselves the dupes of the imposture which they assist in supporting; whereas our political impostors cannot possibly be ignorant upon the subject of the deceptions they practise. That they should write and print and circulate barefaced falsehoods is not wonderful; that, when these falsehoods are detected and exposed, they should again publish them as admitted truths; that they should be base enough to rely for success upon the ignorance of those amongst whom their falsehoods are intended to circulate; that every one of these impostors should do all this is by no means wonderful; but, really, how any two or more of them can meet, look one another in the face, and even hold council as to the best means of effecting their purposes, is wonderful even to me, who have so long been in the habit of examining their conduct, and exposing their detestable manoeuvres. Only think of the state of mind, into which they must have fallen before they could meet and deliberate upon the lie most likely to succeed, and upon the means of circulation most cheap and extensive. Only think of that. When you have thought of it, am sure you will be satisfied, that the human mind can conceive nothing too base for such men to attempt.——The wretched poetaster, who has led me into these remarks, would have performed but half his task, if he had not preferred the charge of *disloyalty* against all those who refused to join in the act of hypocrisy which he was celebrating. Accordingly he says:

> "If there's a *Traitor* in the land:
> "Who will not *raise for George his hand*;
> "Whose heart malignant grieves to see
> "All England rise in Jubilee!
> "Let the *detested Monster* find,
> "Some cavern blacker than his mind!
> "There let him waste his life away,
> "Nor with his presence blast this day."

So, you see, that you, who refused to put a single candle in your windows, and, of course, who did not "*raise your hand* for George," on that day, are, according to this pensioned poetaster, a "*traitor*" and a "*detested monster*;" and this wretch, whose very bread comes, in part, out of your estates, has the impudence to send you to waste your life away in some black and dismal cavern. Verily, if your heart were no truer to your country than the heart of this impudent pensioner, you would, when you saw yourself thus insulted by those whom the government compels you to feed, care very little indeed what happened, or whose authority prevailed, so that you could but obtain vengeance upon those, from whom such insolence proceeded.—— The "Ode," as it is called, upon which I have been offering you some remarks, was, it seems, recited at a dinner of the *Merchants and Bankers* of London, at whose dinner, many of the ministers, and of the leading men of both factions, attended. It is said, too, that the Ode was received with *universal approbation*. Let the world judge, then, of the character of those, who could bestow their approbation, FIRST, upon so vile and gross a falsehood as that which I have noticed above; and, SECONDLY, upon an assertion, according to which every man, who disapproved of the Jubilee, was a "*traitor*" and a "*detested monster*." The persons, present upon this occasion, knew well not only that the measure of holding a Jubilee had been distinctly disapproved of by many persons at public meetings, held even in the city of London; not only did they know this full well, but they knew also, that, in the whole kingdom, there were not, in all likelihood, one hundred men of sense, who did not, in their hearts, decidedly disapprove of the thing; that there was scarcely one, who took any active part in promoting it, who was not actuated by some selfish motive; that the shouts put up by the rabble, were actually bought with bread, meat, beer, and gin; and, in short, that the whole thing was invented purely with a view of reviving, or exciting, if possible, a set of feelings in the popular breast, which *feelings might serve as a counterpoise to other feelings, excited by recent events and disclosures*, and which latter feelings were, it was perceived, making their way deep into the minds of even the least informed part of the people. The Jubilee men at Merchant Taylor's Hall knew all this very well, at the moment that they were cheering the pensioned poetaster's charge of *treason* against such men as Mr. Waithman and you.—— At first sight, it appears strange, that, when it is their business to make the world, and especially the Emperor Napoleon, believe that the nation is *unanimous* on their side, they should let any thing drop, which amounts to a confession, that there are people, who think differently from themselves, and, in fact, who, as you and I do, very anxiously desire to see them put down. One would suppose, that they would take all possible pains to disguise

this fact; and so they would, if they did not love themselves much better than their cause. Regular mole-catchers will never catch in *breeding-time*; and rat-catchers of eminence hold it to be a pity to kill *females with young*. For reasons similar to those by which these regular tradesmen are actuated, and which are too obvious to be pointed out, the Jubilee crew, the regular-traders in Anti-Jacobinism and loyalty, take special care to lose no opportunity that offers itself of inculcating a belief, that there are jacobins and traitors in the country. It is true, that in whatever degree they are believed, they give encouragement to the foreign enemy; but, though they do not wish to assist that enemy, *because* it is not to be believed that he, if he became master of the country, would *give them so much for doing nothing as they now get*; though they do not wish to assist that enemy, they wish to live upon the public; and it is upon the ground that the king has *enemies* at home, and upon that ground alone, that they can pretend to any merit in being his "*friends*," or, indeed, that they can justify the use of that appellation. How often has it been thus, and how many thrones have been overturned, in great part, at least, from this cause! It is in courts and governments as in private life: is there a base insinuating knave, who, for his own selfish purposes, wishes to be thought the *friend* of a man capable of doing him service; the first thing he does is to make that man believe that he has *enemies*. The persons, thus misrepresented, in consequence of being considered and treated as enemies, do, in time, become enemies in reality; and, as they have justice on their side, it is ten to one, that, in the end, they triumph, and that he who has been flattered into an abuse of his power experiences the mortification, or the actual punishment, due to his folly and his injustice. How often, in all ranks of life, public and private, have we seen this verified!

Without supposing the Jubilee crew to have been actuated by motives of this selfish description, it is quite impossible to account for their placard respecting *me*, exhibited at *Charing Cross*, on the day of the Jubilee, and of which the STATESMAN news-paper gives the following account:

——"An ineffectual attempt to produce "a riot was made at Charing Cross, where "about four o'clock in the afternoon, a "person in a sailor's jacket, mounting on "horseback before *King Charles*, affixed "to the neck of the horse a placard, with "the following words:—

"MAY GOD
"disperse
"The Votaries of
"COBBETT
"As the Clouds
"Of this day."

"But, although the miscreant strained his "throat till he was hoarse with huzzaing, "he *could not get a solitary individual to join* "*him* in this incitement to riot and blood-"shed, and the spectators treated the at-"tempt with the scorn which it deserved."

——Now, to be sure, if those who, *without doubt*, caused this placard to be put up, and nobody will be at a loss to know who they are; if these people had not been full as much fools as knaves, or rather more; if knavery, when it overshoots itself, did not always become folly, and if this had not been the case in the present instance, these people never would have done a thing like this, which was, in fact, in terms the most distinct, in a manner the most impressive, in a place proverbially the most public, and on an occasion the most memorable, to proclaim . . . . . what? Why, in the first place, that there were, at least, some persons, who disapproved of the Jubilee; but, in the next place, it was to proclaim, that I, the man whom they are known to hate, and whom they affect to contemn, has, in the country . . . what? Not *readers;* no, nor merely *partizans*, as some others have; not merely these, but that I have VOTARIES; that is to say, that I am a man, who is almost, if not quite, *worshipped*, by a part, at least, of the people of England, and that, too, just after not less than *fifty thousand pounds* is well known to have been expended for the purpose of circulating, gratis, publication upon the back of publication, and each teeming with the most atrocious falsehoods, the sole object of which publications was to put me down. Oh! these men, though precious knaves, are certainly less of knaves than of fools, or they never would have given me and the public this irrefragable proof of my having triumphed over them, aided by all the numerous herds of venal scribes.

"Hated by fools, and fools to hate:
"Be that my motto, that my fate."

The Editors of the hireling prints, albeit not amongst the Solomons of the age, have, as far as I have been able to ascertain the fact, taken not the smallest notice of this famous placard, though it was hung

upon the horse's mouth or neck, though every letter was, at least, three inches high, and though thousands and tens of thousands flocked to see it, and were continually flocking thither, till those who ordered it to be put up, thought proper to order it to be taken down, *in the night.* These hireling Editors, though no conjurors, could perceive, that this placard gave the lie direct to all their assertions about my being *a person of no consequence;* a person whose opinions and exhortations had *no weight* in the country; it would, with them, have been an act of political suicide to state, that, upon the day of the Jubilee, one of the acts of piety, performed by those who call themselves the friends of the king, was to pray to God to disperse my *Votaries,* clearly implying, that the number of them was so great as to be not a little formidable. No: the hireling Editors could not bring themselves to give the history of the Charing-Cross placard: they were not such shocking fools as he who sent a man, in a *sailor's* jacket, to put it up; and to fasten it, too, to the horse bearing the statue of a king, whom Englishmen beheaded as a traitor, upon a charge of having been guilty of a violation of their rights.——The effect of this placard is worthy of being recorded. Some persons, amongst the many thousands, who composed the continually shifting crowd of gazers at the placard, asked a very worthy friend of ours, who lives near the spot, what the thing meant, and who "COBBETT" was; to which he answered, that Mr. Cobbett was a gentleman, who wished to see sinecure places and unmerited pensions abolished, who wanted all peculators and public-robbers to be punished, and by such means to lessen the taxes and give the people encouragement to fight for their country. This ran, of course, from one to another; and, it is no wonder, that, on the fourth *night* after it was put up, the stupid wretch (he is the most vain and stupid in Christendom) who had ordered it to be hoisted, found somebody to beat into his addled brains the prudent measure of taking it down.——The best of it is, that, while these senseless creatures are plotting and conspiring against me, and are scratching their empty skulls for inventions whereby to injure, or, at least, annoy me, I am leading a life the most pleasant and undisturbed that can be conceived; and, it really is not unworthy of remark, that while the corrupt and venal herd, who waste so much time and money in the hope of tormenting me; while these people were engaged in the contriving and preparing and playing off their placard trick amidst the bustle and uproar of the "*jubilry,*" as NOODLE or DOODLE calls it, in Tom Thumb; while they were so engaged, I was walking over a very beautiful farm and pleasure grounds, the hospitable occupiers of which are just as great despisers of hypocrisy as you yourself are; and, it is quite curious, that, at the very moment when, as it appears from the news-papers, the placard was hoisted, and the disguised and hired ruffian, with hoarse throat and straining eye-balls, was endeavouring to raise a mob against me, in London, I was in a farm yard in Berkshire, taking and noting down the dimensions of a sheep-crib.

Suffer me, now, by way of conclusion, to notice, in as brief a manner as possible, a few more facts, relating to this subject of the Jubilee, which I look upon as being of very great political importance, it having, unquestionably, been intended (by those who set it on foot) to answer the double purpose of diverting the minds of the public from the terrible calamities and disgrace in Holland and Spain, and, as I before observed, to revive, or excite, a set of popular feelings, calculated to *counteract the popular feelings, which have been excited by recent exposures, and by the busy and increasing* WHISPERS, *to which those exposures have led.* The thing was not badly imagined. The inventor is entitled to some praise for his cunning; for that *low cunning,* which it was quite happy to select for the occasion. But, for all this, the thing has failed as to *both* its objects; nor, is it necessary for me to say, that it is now *too late* for any such scheme.—— Of the facts, which it is right, that the world should know, and that we should remember, the following are a few only; namely;———That, in several of the *churches,* the old battered song of "*God-save-the-king*" was sung, and, particular public mention is made of this having been done in the church at Brighthelmstone; which puts one in mind of a saying of John Wesley, who, when he set one of his hymns to the tune of a jovial song, observed, that he did not see why the Devil should have all the pretty tunes to himself;——That the illumination in London, though a drenched rabbled paraded most of the large streets, was not a quarter part so general, or so bright, as upon any com-

mon occasion of a naval victory, a fact very much to the honour of the people of the metropolis;——That very few people illuminated at all, any farther than to guard against stones and brick bats from the belly-filled rabble; and, that, in fact, the illumination, as far as *good-will* went, appears to have been confined to the *East-India House*, the *Bank* of Threadneedle Street, the *Post-Office*, and the several great *Houses of Taxation*, the *Public Offices in White Hall and Downing Street*, the several Offices of the *Salaried Magistrates and Thief-takers*, the *Gambling Houses*, the *Quack Medicine Shops*, and certain other *Houses of resort*, which I do not think it necessary more particularly to point out;——That, in the country, not a soul, except those, who, in one way or another, live upon the public, made the smallest stir; but that the belly-filled rabble were every where in high spirits, and, at Winchester in particular, seemed extremely grateful to his Majesty for having lived long enough to occasion them one hearty meal in their lives.——The transparencies at a place called "*The Yellow Fever Remedy Ware-house*" exhibited the following:—— "Besides the Star and Anchor (which are "usually illuminated on days of rejoicing), "the letters G. R. displayed by an im- "mense number of variegated lamps, and "a very beautiful Transparency, in the "centre of which was a Portrait of his "Majesty, surrounded *by Hearts*, in each "of which was written *Joy;* and in other "parts of the Transparency was written "(in letters of gold) The Fiftieth Year of "the Reign of George the Third—a *real* "*Patriot*—the *best of Kings*—and the *only* "*virtuous Sovereign in Europe.*——Every "Heart is filled with joy, for thy long "Reign, O King!"——That was pretty well, I think, for a vender of *quack-medicines;* but he was surpassed by one of the venal poetasters, who expressed himself thus:

"The Sun rules the day—the Moon rules the night,
"The King rules the Land—*by the very same right;*
"His lawful succession—just Heaven will secure,
"As long as the Sun and the Moon shall endure."

The Morning Chronicle gives this, as a specimen of the *adulation* and of the *blasphemy* of the day; and, as such, I preserve it.——All the swarm of dependents in and about KEW and WINDSOR seem to have put themselves in motion. It is said, that "their hearts overflowed with *loyalty* and "*love.*" I wish you or I could have *overheard their conversation* upon the subject, when they got into their bed-chambers at night; we should then have been able to ascertain to a nicety what is the real meaning of the words "*loyalty* and *love.*"—— The conduct of the news-papers upon this occasion ought to be noticed. Most of them made aukward attempts to disguise the real feelings of the Editors; but, the STATESMAN (an evening paper which every friend of the country ought to encourage) spoke out; its columns were full of excellent matter, such as, if hypocrisy were not always backed by impenetrable impudence, must have put it to the blush.—— The good which will grow out of this thing is not easily to be calculated. It has provoked many persons to do what they never would have thought of, namely, revert to the several acts of this long reign; it has revived Saratoga, York Town, the Helder, and all the other brilliant exploits; it has called upon us to discuss, and has, in some sort, compelled us to discuss, what we never should have thought of discussing, though, I must confess, we ought not to have wanted any such spur; it will operate as most other feasts do, that is to say, it will leave a *head-ache* for those who were concerned in it. They have made the king's reign a subject for rejoicing; we say that it has been a most unfortunate reign; thereupon they accuse us of being *traitors;* thereupon we must *show, that what we say is true;* their drunken-bout is over; it is now our turn to be heard, when they have no longer purchased shouts wherewith to drown our voices; and, before we have done, it shall go hard but we will make their Jubilee turn to good account. For my own part, I have already turned it to one most valuable purpose, which is to avail myself of this occasion publicly to declare, that I am, with great respect, and sincere regard,

Your faithful,
And most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Botley, Thursday, 2 Nov. 1809.

P. S. Pray read the letter, below, respecting the *Blue Ribbon* scheme at Epping.

☞ The Letter of "DECIUS" shall be noticed in my next.

JUBILEE.

SIR;—Any man who, in the pursuit of the sciences, can contribute a new fact, is considered meritorious. It lays either a

new, or an enlarged ground, upon which the philosopher may reason; it affords him more extensive inferences to combine and compare; it encreases his analogies, and is one step gained, in the progress after truth. I am to submit, Mr. Cobbett, that political science does not differ, in this respect, from the other sciences; and that he who can aid the prevention, or promote the dissipation, of popular delusion, by the communication of a simple fact, is equally meritorious. Were this principle universally acted upon, I do not know that you would stand so pre-eminent as you do; not that your merit would be less; but the utility of your labours would probably not be so great.——At the moment I am writing, it is afflicting to consider the system of influence which is operating around us on every side, to produce the meanest political deception. It would be scarcely credible to many well disposed persons in this kingdom, who judge of the freedom of twelve millions of people, by a row at a theatre, or a brawl at an election, to form a just estimate of the silent system of coercion, that exists in this country, and which on occasions like the present is enforced and executed, through all classes of the people. These secret workings of political power are dangerous in proportion as they are secret. The misfortune is, that the mischief can only be known, when it is too late to repair the ruin which it has produced. It is idle to boast of the liberty of that people, who are constrained by oppressive influence to express sentiments they do not possess, or if they do possess them, to compel them to wear insignia of such sentiments, against the dictates of their own judgment, in violation of the liberty of opinion, and in degradation of their mental independence. If I understand what liberty is, I should think with Montesquieu, that it consisted in the free exercise of individual opinion, so far as it was not constrained by the laws; laws I mean framed upon the sacrifice of that portion only of the freedom of each, which is absolutely necessary for the good of the whole. But where is the liberty of that class of the subjects of this realm, who are obliged under the heaviest penalties, the penalty of the imputation of disaffection, the penalty of the loss of domestic peace, and of being deprived of the common enjoyments of good neighbourhood, to wear a Royal Blue Ribbon in their hats, at the dictation of a man, who is perhaps cringing for a title, and who is kindling animosity among his majesty's subjects, that he may probably enjoy a portion of their taxes.——Impressed with these ideas, I beg to submit to your notice, a fact, which I select, because I am prepared to authenticate it. The late Chelmsford meeting regarding Colonel Wardle, must be fresh in your recollection; and you cannot fail to bear in mind, that John Conyers of Copthall near Epping in the county of Essex, esq. (for I think with you all these gentlemen should have their full addition) was extremely active in favour of his majesty's government, on that occasion. In fact, Sir, he displayed so much loyalty, at Chelmsford, that it was the opinion of most men, that his majesty's ministers had not as usual done their duty, in not recommending his majesty, to include the name of Mr. Conyers in the last most respectable batch of baronets. Not, Sir, that I imagine such a reward would at all operate on Mr. Conyers's mind; the motives which actuate him are no doubt founded in, and originate out of, pure unalloyed and unadulterated loyalty.——In the exuberance of this loyalty, Mr. Cobbett, Mr. Conyers, (and every good Englishman must thank him), addressed a Letter some days ago, to the leading solicitors, in the town of Epping, on the subject of the ensuing Jubilee, in which is the following passage. I inspected the Letter in question, and after reading the following sentence several times, I immediately reduced it into writing, therefore though I may not be literally correct I can vouch for its being substantially so:

"I much wish that on the 25th instant "all the inhabitants of Epping, both men "and women, who are friends to the "king and government, should appear "in Royal Blue Cockades. This measure, "if I am not mistaken, will tend to pro-"duce some curious discoveries.

"Yours, &c. JOHN CONYERS."

"N. B. Let the Milliner be prepared "with plenty of Blue Ribbons."

I shall make no further observations on this proceeding; I have given you the text, the commentary (if any is required) is best in your hands. I remain,

Yours, &c.

D—— R—WL——D.

Gray's Inn Place, Oct. 24th, 1809.

"OH! 'TIS A DAY OF JUBILEE."
TOM THUMB.

SIR; Accident placed in my hands your observations upon the Jubilee, and though in an humble situation myself, I greatly admire the principles upon which you withheld your subscription. The Parish in which I live made a noble collection to feed and to feast the poor on that memorable day the 25th instant. The parish officers, whose province it was to make the distribution, being men of affluence and discretion, and well knowing the imperfections of human nature, and the great danger that is to be apprehended from hungry half-starved families eating to excess, took the wise preventive measure of restraint in the midst of plenty, and, to prevent discord, gave to each poor family (who chose to accept it) small and great, two shillings and a quartern loaf; leaving the surplus of the collection to be accounted for at a future day. I must here remark that, setting aside the feasting on that joyful occasion, you do not appear to me to be aware of the great utility which the Jubilee afforded to me, and to thousands more who had no heart to feast, but much more disposed to fast. I am one of those oppressed beings called a householder, though, by-the-bye, my necessity hath constrained me to act with that prudence and civility to seclude both myself and family from every part of the house except the ground floor. Some weeks back I received from the collector a printed notice, that unless my half year's assessed tax, 5*l.*, due the 20th of September, was paid by the 10th of October, my goods would on that day be sold to make good the sum. As I knew I might as well attempt to raise the D——l as the money against the time, I looked on my small portion of this world's good in a state of requisition, or rather similar to a man under sentence of death, and who only awaits the signing the warrant to receive execution. My household property hath withstood the gripe of the king's and parish officers near forty years, but being, like myself, worse for wear, and carrying with them also strong marks of antiquity, I am led to imagine that my whole property will but barely pay the tax and the expence of seizure. But however, Sir, a respite is granted for a few days; a few nights more to indulge myself with a bed; thanks to the Jubilee, a seizure is not yet made. The commissioners and other great men, whose goodness and humanity is not to be equalled, conscious that the immediate distress of so many thousands would ill accord with so rare a festival, have delayed putting the stern decree into execution until after the Jubilee. Permit me now to observe, from what I have advanced, that if the total loss of my little property was for the real good of my country, that consoling reflection would soften every plank of my floor (upon which I shortly must extend my weary limbs) into a downy pillow, from the pleasing hope that my children, grand-children, or rising generation, would ultimately enjoy the benefit. But, is it so? No, Sir, you know it is not. It is to answer the craving demands of the sons and daughters of luxury, avarice, and dissipation; the thoughts of which will turn every board of my deal couch into a holly-bush. TRUTH IN OBSCURITY.

Black Friars, Oct. 28, 1809.

JACOBIN GUINEAS.

SIR;—Whatever symptoms of intemperance may have introduced themselves into the discussion of the several articles that have appeared in your Register under the title of "*Jacobin Guineas,*" I cannot suppose that on the present, any more than on any other occasion, you can have any wish that your arguments should pass for more, than when tried by the test of reason, they were found to be worth. Entertaining this persuasion I am encouraged to offer, for insertion in your Register, the following observations on the articles in question, thinking with you, that it is in itself a subject of very considerable importance, and moreover that its importance has been materially increased by the misdirection, as it appears to me, the great mass of public mind that is influenced by your work, has been receiving.—The subject is in itself of a perfectly grave description; it involves neither party nor personal considerations, the fair discussion of it can therefore in no degree be aided by appeals to the passions and prejudices of the public. It is always suspicious when a man lugs in, by way of helping out his arguments, abusive unmeaning epithets: it is peculiarly suspicious when this is found to be the case on a subject not of a nature to stir up the angry passions. It convinces the reader that the writer is angry, not that his arguments are well founded. What can be meant by saying "*I see "nothing horrible in the annihilation of a "nasty, dirty, debased, currency, printed like*

"*shop-bills, at every corner of every town.*" [Register xvi. 532.] The mere quoting a passage of this description, is of itself sufficient to shew how totally incapable such a mode of reasoning, if so it may be called, is of affording any real instruction: at least if there be those that are convinced by it, they can scarcely be worth undeceiving. If the object be to lead into the same way of thinking as yourself any other than the mere rabble; by any such helps as these, I cannot but think your views, in this respect, will be defeated, not promoted. —What is complained of is simply this— The Bank of England, having been exempted by the legislature from the obligation of exchanging their notes for specie, have possessed, and exercised, the power of issuing these notes in an excessive quantity. Two evil consequences have, as is alledged, thus been produced. 1. A rise in the prices of commodities in general: 2. The expulsion of gold as a part of the circulating medium. The remedy proposed is the repeal of the Bank-Restriction act, by which it is *avowedly* hoped that a great mass of gold will immediately flow into the country, and displace the paper that is now in circulation, and *disguisedly* hoped that the government will thus be effectually and permanently disabled from paying the dividends due to its creditors, and that thus the national debt will at once become extinguished.—Admitting that guineas now bear a premium, that is, that twenty guineas cannot now be procured but for a greater sum than one and twenty pounds in Bank of England notes, this is not of itself sufficient to prove that guineas, compared with Bank notes, are now in a state of depreciation. There are other and temporary causes, perfectly adequate to account for the effect that has thus been produced. Among these causes the principal one is, the expedition that has lately been sent to the neighbouring coast. Guineas being the only medium that could there be employed in the way of exchange for other commodities, it became an object with every individual engaged in that expedition, to take with him, in this shape, whatever money he might conceive himself likely to have occasion for. Considering the great number of persons employed on this expedition, thence the large sums for which, in this shape, a demand would thus come to be created, combined with the comparatively small quantity of coin of this species that was at the time in question in circulation, this alone, without searching for other and remoter causes, appears very satisfactorily to account for a greater sum than their nominal value in Bank notes being paid, in many instances, for the procurement of guineas. Upon no occasion has it been so much as attempted to be shewn, that for any other purpose than that of exportation, a premium has been paid for guineas. Did you yourself, Sir, for your own use, and to be employed in this country, ever actually buy, or ever think of buying, at a premium, guineas with Bank notes? Or did you ever hear of any body else that has so done? The truth is, that this doctrine, as to a permanent and steady depreciation having been suffered in the case of Bank notes, greater than has been suffered in the case of guineas, having been found untenable, seems now to be abandoned.— What, however, is certain is, by whatever causes it may have been produced, that within these last hundred years, a considerable and gradual, though lately accelerating, advance in the price of commodities in general has taken place. That this is ascribable, in a great measure, to the circumstance of paper having become a part of the circulating medium of this country, is equally incontestable. This, however, is far from being the only cause. From the searching nature of money, so long as any intercourse is carried on between the several European nations, an increase in the quantity of currency, in whatever shape it may exhibit itself, whether it be composed of the precious metals or of paper, in one country, will produce a corresponding increase in the circulating medium, thence an increase of prices, in every other nation with which it may directly, or through the medium of any other country, have communication. Thus Spain, by the quantity of bullion that it has imported from South America, has been the means of increasing the prices of commodities in all other European countries, to say nothing of non-European countries. —An increase made to the quantity of hard money in one country, from its intrinsic value serving as a medium of exchange equally in all European states, would produce more uniformly in all other countries the effect of equalizing prices, than would an increase, to the same amount, made in the shape of paper money. No European country, possessing any circulating medium in the shape of paper currency, however great might be the increment made to the hard cash circu-

lating in any one country, by the tendency that money has to find its own level, all other countries, with a celerity proportioned to the intercourse carried on with the country that first received this increment, would feel the effects of it. The effect being thus generally diffused, commodities in all countries would experience an increase of price; the rise, after a while, not being greater in the country first receiving the money than in any other. A similar effect is produced when the circulating medium of all European countries consisting partly of paper, partly of the precious metals, an increase in any one is made to the quantity of paper currency. Our own country affords an illustration of this process. By the increased quantity of our paper circulation, the guineas have been expelled from this, and have found their way into foreign countries, where they have contributed to cause a rise of prices in those countries, as the paper money has caused a rise of prices here. An analogous effect is produced in this country by an addition made to the quantity of paper money in any other country: we receive their hard money, which contributes to produce a rise of prices in this country, they retain their paper, which contributes to produce a corresponding rise of prices in the country in which it was issued. By fresh issues of paper money, however, any one European country, having an uninterrupted intercourse with neighbouring states, and while retaining as a part of its circulating medium a quantity of the precious metals, may accumulate within itself, a circulating medium far greater in proportion than what is possessed by the neighbouring states. If it were not so, the prices of commodities, except in so far as influenced by taxes, would be the same, or very nearly the same, in every country in Europe; the contrary of which is universally known to be the fact. To explain the causes of this aberration from the so universally acknowledged propensity in money to find its own level, would require far more space than could possibly be afforded for it in your Register.—If what is said above be true, I see not how those who regard the rise of prices as an evil, can, with any consistency, complain of the expulsion of gold from the country as increasing that evil. The retaining it here under the present circumstances, were that possible, not having the smallest tendency to prevent fresh issues of paper-money, would, by so much as it added to the amount of the money in circulation, help to increase, not to diminish the evil. If displaced from the circulation, by lessening the quantity of the circulating medium, it palliates the evil producible by fresh issues of paper-money. You, Sir, too, appear to be peculiarly estopped from complaining of this expulsion of gold as a grievance: in the present state of our relations with the rest of Europe, it helps materially to obstruct the carrying on that foreign commerce that is so pernicious to this country, so profitable to others.—That of late years a considerable increase has taken place in the price of commodities, attributable, in a far greater degree than to any other cause, to an increase in the quantity of circulating paper, and that this increase is productive of very disastrous results, is perfectly obvious. What, however, is equally obvious is, that as a producer of this evil, the Bank of England, though standing most conspicuous, does not stand alone.—Whatever addition may come to be made to the mass of paper-money in any given country, of whatever materials that addition may be composed, whether of metal or of paper, and whatever may be the nature of the paper, so long as it passes from hand to hand for its nominal value, while the original mass, and the increment thus made, remain in the country, the effect produced upon the prices of commodities will be precisely the same. Thus, whether the addition be made in the shape of Bank of England or of country bank paper, a corresponding rise of prices, proportioned to the amount of the issue, and without any regard to the source whence it proceeds, will immediately take place. As to the exact amount of the country bank notes in circulation, I have no materials for forming any conception: it certainly falls materially short of the amount of Bank of England notes. What however is certain is, that if it is not greater, we owe it to nothing less than to any forbearance, or regard to the public welfare, on the part of the description of persons in question. A circumstance that shows that, on the part of the Bank, there can have been no such exorbitant and excessive issue of their notes, as appears to have been imagined, is the very existence of these country bank notes. The principal means by which the Bank of England, as well as the country banks, introduce their notes into circulation, is by granting loans, and discounting bills, which is nearly the same thing under

another name. Besides the advantage that it derives from the being a Bank of deposit, an advantage peculiar to itself in contradistinction to the country banks, working on a more extensive scale, the Bank of England could afford to work for smaller profits than the country banks, and might thus probably, were it not for the advantage possessed by the country banks in respect of their locality, engross the whole business of this description that is transacted in the country. How it has happened that with these obvious advantages, this result has not been more nearly or altogether produced, it is foreign to the present purpose to enquire. What, however, these considerations shew is this, that if the conductors of the Bank of England are just objects of our abhorrence, the conductors of the country banks are not less so.—A notion that appears very generally to have seized men's minds is, that there is a sort of identity between the government and the Bank of England, and that they are together carrying on a joint concern, by which they are the profiters, the public the losers Nothing can be more shallow or mistaken than this idea. Need it really be said, then, that the Bank Directors and the king's ministers are a perfectly distinct set of persons? That no man ever united these two functions in himself? It seems to be supposed that the Bank is receiving every year out of the public taxes outrageously large sums of the public money: but for what purpose paid, or out of what fund it comes, the retention of the persuasion seems much too delightful to allow the broachers of such notions to stop for a moment to consider. The public accounts shew precisely what is the amount of the sums that the Bank receives yearly from government. But perhaps it may be supposed that over and above the sum to which the interest, thus avowedly paid, corresponds, the Bank Directors put into the hands of ministers, when called for, any quantity of this their paper-money, and that, when thus possessed of it, ministers employ it in paying the public creditors. Yes: this notion really is entertained, and here we have a gentleman stating himself as entertaining it. Hear your correspondent, Mr. Bernard (Register, vol. xvi. 537.) "When new "loans and fresh taxes were required to "carry on the war, *it became necessary* on "every additional loan and tax to coin "and issue annually, a certain number of "new Bank notes, to the amount of the interest on the loan or money borrowed; "and so, each succeeding year, as more "money was wanting, the Bank-notes "progressively encreased and accumu-"lated." Really, if what this gentleman says be correct, the amount of paper in circulation would be considerable indeed! Why, it would be at least equal to the amount of all the debt created, and all the taxes imposed since the Bank were restrained from exchanging their notes for specie. It is inconceivable that any man that can count his fingers should fall into such gross errors.—The truth is, the Bank of England derives no advantage from forcing their notes into circulation, unless in so far as they are paid in the shape of interest for making a fresh issue, with the prospect of receiving, at some future period, an equivalent in money. The Bank Directors might unquestionably, so long as the Restriction act remains unrepealed, without suffering any considerable present loss, manufacture, and hand over to the government, a quantity of their notes: but ministers have no motive for the asking such an advance, nor, if they had, have the Bank Directors for complying with it. On the contrary, a certain loss would thus be incurred. Each Bank Director being as much one of the public as any other individual, he would suffer in common with the rest of the community by the rise of prices that would thus be produced, and moreover, the concern in general upon the repeal of the Bank Restriction act, whenever that event may take place, would be subjected to the obligation of exchanging these notes, as others, for specie.—When painful emotions have been excited in the human bosom, as in the present instance by the distress occasioned by the pressure of the public taxes, it is a sort of relief to give vent to the unpleasant sensations that are thus experienced. On this occasion, the Bank Directors have been pitched upon, as the most appropriate objects for bearing the public odium, and, with the view of giving colour to this imputation, it is attempted to be shewn that they alone are the public creditors, and that all the cost that they have incurred to entitle them to receive, and put into their own pockets, all the money that is now paid for the interest of the debt, has been simply the expence of manufacturing their notes. Or at least if this is not supposed, what is supposed is, that upon the payment of every quarter's dividend by the Bank, a fresh mass of notes, equal to the amount of the dividend,

is issued, and that by so much the Bank Directors profit. This appears extremely absurd when stated; but such, or something analogous, must be the notions of those who thus lustily deal out their invectives against the Bank Directors.—The operation that is thus attempted to be confounded is in itself extremely simple and intelligible. Whatever is paid to the public creditors as interest upon the loan, has first been raised upon the people in the shape of taxes. Upon this occasion the Bank is the mere agent of government. It first receives the money from government, then pays it away for government: just as a private London banker, having received from a private individual, a mass of money in deposit, pays it away in detail to his order; in the one case the receipt for the dividend being the voucher, in the other case the draft.—It is said, that the public creditors would be no sufferers, by government ceasing at once to pay their dividends. This appears to be an assertion so extravagant, and so exclusively dictated by blind passion, that I cannot think it will be persisted in, after any the smallest consideration. Besides, Sir, you yourself, in almost the same breath in which the assertion is made, depict in the strongest terms, the suffering that would thus be produced. [Register, v. xvi. p. 531.] A man losing half his income, no words can paint the indignation felt, at the folly of his exposing himself to this suffering: losing the whole of it, he is not to be pitied, nor is he any sufferer. The Bank Directors are in your view of the matter a very wicked set of people, and have done, and are now doing, very serious mischief to the country. But, how would you have them treated for this their evil-doing? Let the result you are invoking take effect, you reward, not punish them. Perhaps, as was done in Ireland, by way of taking revenge upon these blood-suckers for their misdeeds, you would joyfully join in collecting together a mass of these nasty dirty ill-looking bits of paper, and set fire to them, provided you yourself were not called upon, to contribute any thing towards the formation of the pile. This really is a most notable and effectual contrivance for relieving the poor distressed and oppressed people of this afflicted country. Would you, Sir, pray let me ask you, find yourself very greatly punished or impoverished, if, after having issued a number of bills, the amount of which, at some subsequent period, you thus imposed on yourself the obligation of paying in money, or money's worth, the holders of those bills should unaccountably take it into their heads to destroy them? Or would the holders of those bills, having paid, and expecting again to receive, valuable consideration for them, be greatly enriched by any such operation? Do pray, Sir, take a one hundred pound Bank of England note in your hand, that you may have received in exchange for a hundred pounds worth of wheat, and ask yourself whether, if that note were at once to lose its exchangeable value, you would not be in precisely the same condition as if your wheat had been burnt, or by any other means destroyed. Did it never happen to you to hear, Sir, that great distress was occasionally produced by the failure of country bankers? But perhaps you may be prepared to shew that all this suffering is not real, but purely imaginary, and that what people thus mistake for loss is a real gain to them. If this be so, Sir, and I really see not how with any consistency you can think otherwise, the stating on this subject your ideas to the public appears to press upon you with peculiar emphasis, since it would teach those that were persuaded by your arguments, to see advantages, when before nothing was visible but distress. What is expected from you, then, is this: to shew that a given individual, you yourself for example, being possessed of 1,000*l.* worth of the notes of a country bank, for which you had paid a valuable consideration, and that bank happening to fail, without leaving any assets, you would not be any the poorer by that 1,000*l.* worth of notes ceasing at once to be of any value. What, it is hoped, will not escape your penetration is, that by mere transference of property, the nation at large is no gainer. It is quite clear that there are many persons that would be gainers by the destruction of the paper currency of the country; but the gainers bear no proportion to the losers: they are not perhaps as one in a hundred thousand.—As to the remedy proposed, or rather the leaving the evil to cure itself, it seems not in the smallest degree calculated to produce any such effect, as that which appears to be expected from it. It is asserted that the gold coin, if it has not already all of it quitted the country, yet, from the rapidity with which it disappears, there will very shortly be none of it remaining. The return of this gold coin is the thing desired. No such effect as this seems,

however, likely to be produced, though double or treble the quantity of Bank notes, that are now in circulation, were issued, and consequently prices double or treble beyond what they are at present. Besides, Sir, though the disorder were thus capable of being cured, the process would be an extremely gradual one, and the mass of suffering produced proportionably great. Neither the Bank of England, nor country banks, have the power of introducing their notes into circulation, but in proportion as a demand is made for them by individuals. Nobody, you least of all, Sir, will accuse the Bank of England, or the country bankers, of not seizing every such opportunity of giving currency to their notes: this is among the complaints against them: we now see the amount of the effect that has thus been produced, and the time that has been taken to produce it. The restriction on the Bank took place in the latter end of the year 1796, or beginning of 1797. The issues cannot be expected to be more rapid hereafter, than they were in the interval between that period, and the present. They will be less rapid; and that from two causes; 1. The stagnation of commerce, and transactions in general, thence a diminution of the number of occasions, on which the discounting of bills has heretofore been required; 2. The discounting of bills by individuals, this they will be enabled to do, by the quantity of capital that will have been thrown out of employment. We see then, Sir, how long we should have to wait for the relief in question, did it really contribute to produce the desired effect.—So incorrigibly dull has the public hitherto been, that though the process is obvious enough, and easily traceable, they have never yet been able to comprehend, how it has happened that guineas have disappeared as paper money has increased. A fresh mode of reasoning is necessary to make it intelligible to them. Here we have it (Register, xvi, 524). "'They'' [Guineas] "will not stay to circulate "amongst so much dirty, ill-looking; "worthless paper." Now, this is probably designed as a fair, legitimate, persuasive, convincing mode of argument. It speaks to the senses, and is intelligible to the meanest capacity. Guineas are endowed with feeling: they feel the passions of aversion and love, they love England, but their hatred to paper is greater than their affection to their country: they therefore quit their country, when exposed to the contamination of paper; return to it when the paper has vanished. I am afraid, however, Sir, that to ensure the return of these sensitive guineas, we must have something more substantial to offer in exchange for them, than the mere absence of the objects of their aversion. To those, who possess them, we must pay an equivalent for their return. And how is this to be effected in the present little less than annihilated state of our commerce with the Continent? If we get them back, it must be by commerce that it will, if at all, be accomplished. As to this purpose therefore, you, Sir, will scarcely declare that Britain is independent of commerce.—This letter has already extended to such a length, that I shall only add, that the conclusion from what has been said above, is, that the only true remedy for our present calamitous condition, is by an act of the legislature to prohibit, both on the part of the Bank of England, and of country bankers, the issuing of any fresh notes, or the reissue of those, that in the course of business may be returned upon them, till the number in circulation has been reduced to a given amount. This is the only sure and safe course of gradually preparing the way for the return of guineas into the circulation; of enabling Parliament after a time, without endangering the production of some violent concussion, to repeal the Bank restriction act; of reducing the prices of commodities to the level they were at on some given anterior period, and thus affording relief to fixt incomists; and of preventing thenceforward any such calamitous consequences from advance of prices, as those that we now labour under.

I am, Sir, yours, &c. DECIUS.

WEST INDIA CUSTOM-HOUSE FEES.

St. Pierre, Martinique, 20th Aug. 1809.

SIR;—Among the numerous subjects which require reform, there is none which more imperiously requires the attention of government than the exorbitant amount of the Fees, extorted by the Custom-Houses throughout the West Indies. In the old established English islands, the Fees, which are demanded, are considerably more, than they are authorized by the act of parliament to receive; but it is in the colonies and islands recently captured, that this evil has reached its full extent, as the following Table of Fees received in the Custom-House at St. Pierre, (and authorized by Sir George Beckwith, K. B.) will plainly shew:

DOCKET OF FEES.	Collector.	Comptroller	Searchers & Waiters.	Clerks.
	Dlrs. Cents.	Dlrs. Cents.	Dlrs. Cents.	Dlrs. Cents.
On Vessels entering with Cargo, and clearing in Ballast; viz. (on Island Vessels)				
From 15 to 30 Tons	7 50	2 50	3	2 50
30 - 55	10	3 33	4	3
55 - 80	12	4	4	4
80 - 100	15	5	6	4
100 - 150	18	6	6	6
150 - 200	19 50	6 50	6	6
200 and upwards	24	8	8	8
On entering Vessels with Cargo, and clearing with Cargo.				
From 15 to 20 Tons	10	3 33	3 50	3
20 - 30	15	5	5	4
30 - 55	20	6 66	6	5
55 - 80	24	8	8	6
80 - 100	30	10	8	6
100 - 150	38	12 66	12	8
150 - 200	42	14	12	8
200 and upwards	54	18	16	8
On drawing Passes for 3 Months	10	3 33	3	3
Do. for 6 Do.	20	6 66	6	6
On Non-objection Notes.				
Under 100 Tons	2	1	1	1
Above 100 Do.	3	1	1	1
On European and American Vessels, entering in Ballast, and clearing with Cargo.				
From 15 to 50 Tons	36	12	8	6
50 - 130	48	16	12	8
130 - 200	54	18	16	12
200 Tons and upwards	72	24	16	16
Ditto entering and clearing with Cargo.				
From 15 to 50 Tons	48	16	8	6
50 - 130	66	22	12	8
130 - 200	72	24	16	12
200 Tons and upwards	96	32	16	16

On Permits and Cockets for above Vessels, three Dollars are charged for each; on all Produce shipped, the Waiters and Searchers receive five Stivers for each Package or Box; and also, sixteen Dollars for two general Manifests for an European Vessel.

Fees on Registers.				
From 20 Tons and under	9	3	3	
20 - - - 30 Tons	12	4	3	
30 - - - 40	15	5	5	
40 - - - 60	18	6	6	
60 - - - 100	21	7	6	
100 - - - 150	24	8	7	
150 - - - 200	30	10	8	
On licensed Boats.				
First Class, or under 15 Tons	18	6	6	4
Second Do. - - - - 10	12	4	4	4
Third Do. - - - - 5	6	2	2	2

(Signed) GEO. BECKWITH.

N. B. The Governor's Fees are not included in the above Table.

The Revenue which arises to the Collector alone of this Port, from the above exorbitant Docket of Fees, is, at a very low estimate, worth at least twelve thousand guineas per annum. It is, Sir, a melancholy reflection, that this severe tax on commerce and industry, does not, in the most remote degree, go towards increasing our resources or lightening our heavy burthens, but is appropriated to the sole benefit and use of one individual, who fattens on the exertions of the industrious, and by the insupportable extent of his Fees, does incalculable injury to the nation, by paralizing those efforts, which, if unshackled by the enormous weight of Custom-House Fees and Charges, would be the means of benefiting thousands of individuals, and of giving circulation to English manufactures to a surprising extent. Should a merchant make any representation as to the extravagance of the charges made by the Custom-House, he is immediately referred to a Docket sanctioned by the signature and approval of Sir Geo. Beckwith, K. B.; and here, Sir, I cannot but observe, that I believe this to be a solitary instance, where a British commander in chief has, of his own authority, thought fit to supersede an act of the legislation! For, although the Fees received at other Custom-Houses be higher than those specified in the act, yet, until the present instance, no governor has been bold enough to put his hand to an illegal and oppressive Docket. There is, Sir, however, another, and a great evil, attendant on the rapacious system of the English Custom-Houses, established in foreign colonies or islands; it impresses the natives and others, with the belief, that extortion is sanctioned by our government. A foreign island is justly esteemed more lucrative to the governor, than an English one; and if it were not so, how could St. Croix, St. Thomas, and Martinique, be as valuable governments (or perhaps more so) than Jamaica? But I hope, Sir, through the medium of your Register, that this representation will meet the eyes of ministers, and that, by their measures, foreigners may be convinced, that nothing but a want of proper information, has hitherto permitted the existence of abuses, so degrading to the nation, and so oppressive to individuals. I remain, &c.

MERCATOR.

HIGH PRICE OF PROVISIONS.

SIR;—Having observed by the newspapers, that the Lords of Trade had granted, or, were about to grant, licences to import corn, and stones to grind it with, from France, in exchange for colonial productions; for trash where bread is wanted; and feeling myself, as it were, involved in the disgrace of a measure which, in my estimation, at once betrays our want of resources to carry on the war till an honourable peace is obtained, and places us in the ridiculous situation of claiming the dominion of the sea, and begging bread to enable us to hold it from the very enemy, who is determined to give up his share of that dominion only with the existence of the nations which he rules; I addressed the underneath to their lordships, and sent it to a Sunday newspaper for insertion; but it was returned without assigning any reason whatever. I allow every man, Sir, to be the best judge of his own reasons for whatever he does; and I can conceive many reasons why the conductors of periodical publications, should return or suppress many of the articles that may be sent them; but as I do not see the reason why public spirited men should not assign their reasons for doing so, I think I see very clearly that such of them as do not do so, take the most effectual means in their power to crush public spirit and deprive themselves of its aid, by shewing such unqualified marks of contempt, as their refusal does shew for the feelings of those, who may, from a sense of public duty, wish to add their mite to the aggregate stock of general knowledge through the medium of the press. It cannot be flattery to say, Sir, that I hold a very different opinion of your liberality as a public spirited man; (a public character Lawyers will not allow you to be) and to confess that such opinion has received a considerable degree of strength, from your recent publication of an article in defence of Col. Wardle, which the Editor of the Morning Chronicle refused to insert, perhaps with no greater degree of regard to the feelings of the author and the duties of candour, than the Sunday paper has shewn in my case. Holding this opinion of your liberality, I beg leave to trouble you with the letter in question, leaving you, as I did the said paper, to apply such corrections, as in your better judgment it may stand in need of, to merit its room in the Political Register, if it deserves your attention.

My Lords;—It is unnecessary to remind your lordships of the fatal consequence to

millions, I may say, of your fellow subjects which resulted, immediately as well as remotely, from the duke of Portland's Proclamation of Scarcity in 1799. Your lordships' recollection of the calamities of that and the succeeding year, can only terminate with your lives; and the public can only forget them, when history ceases to record the soup shops, accumulation of poors-rates, and multiplication of paupers which disgraced those years, and will disgrace others for ages to come. Your lordships are also aware of the rapid strides which these calamities are again making this year, under the similar plea of a deficient crop; and to arrest their progress, your lordships, if report be true, have either granted or intend to grant, licences to import grain from France, provided Napoleon will take colonial productions in exchange. It is impossible to conceal from him that we have sugar, coffee, and cotton to dispose of; but in the present state of his temper, power, and determination, is it not the last thing that he ought to know, nay, is there any thing which ought not to be done, to conceal from him that we are in want of bread? Conceiving that there is not, I beg leave to submit to your lordships whether the means of defeating the internal enemies of their country, who, by advancing the price of provisions under the plea stated, have placed your lordships in the humiliating, if not traitorous, situation, of cringing for bread to the very enemy whom we attempted to conquer by the means of famine, be not more immediately within the reach of your lordships' power. The recent and rapid advanced price of corn must either be or be not the measure of the scantiness of crop, to which it is ascribable. If it be the measure of it, then the scarcity amounts to one third of last year's crop, for the price has advanced, or will soon advance, in that proportion to last year's price. And if it be not the measure of it, then it is not the corn that has advanced a third in price, but the money that has retreated back to two thirds of its last year's exchangeable value. It is my positive belief that the latter is the case, and in holding that belief I am not a free agent, for it is forced upon me, not only by my total disbelief in a deficiency of one third, or even of one thirtieth in this year's crop; not only by my experimental knowledge of the conscientiousness with which the freedom of trade allows the monied farmer and corn-dealer to take every possible advantage of the consumer, but by my positive recollection, that the price of bread in the winter of 1799 and 1800, rose nearly in the proportion of 125 per cent. to the price of the preceding year, while the deficiency of crop, as stated by the late duke of Bedford in the house of peers, amounted only to 25 per cent. of the preceding year's crop. This, my lords, is the strongest proof which the case will admit of, that the 100 per cent. difference between the whole of the advance, and the 25 per cent. corresponding advance to the deficiency of crop, cannot be traced to any other cause but a corresponding increase of Bank notes, country bank notes, Bank post bills, navy bills, exchequer bills, bills of exchanges, promissory notes, bonds, or any other instrument in writing, or otherwise, by whatever name it may be called, which absolutely or conditionally purchases or circulates the produce of our industry. The bank notes, both town and country, bills of exchange and promissory notes, part of which were issued for the express purpose of withholding from market and forestalling in the market, corn, as well as every other article of necessity or conveniency. And if this proof be positive as to the real cause of the calamities of 1799 and 1800, can it be less so as to that of the famine which again threatens us with soup shops, and their concomitant increase of paupers, in 1809? Conceiving that it is not, I must assume your lordships to be unacquainted with the manner in which the dealers in corn, and in every thing else, drag Bank notes and country bank notes into circulation, to satiate their own insatiable avarice at the expence of the consumer, with the view of shewing, more distinctly, my notions of the practicability of obtaining that supply at home, which must be looked for in vain from France, while the people of that country have a recollection of our assignats, and other visionary efforts to starve them out of their independence as a nation. When the farmers, (I do not mean the board of Agriculture), wish to raise the price, their policy is to keep back their produce, and create an artificial scarcity in the market. But to create this scarcity is impracticable, without ready money to pay their rents, taxes, and servants' wages, &c. &c. and, therefore, to make it practicable, they lodge their own securities with the bankers, who greedily issue their paper for the sake of the interest it carries. Thus at their ease, they come to market

with long faces and scanty samples; and the dealer, alive to the prospects of advanced price and profit, which the scarcity holds forth, eagerly buys up what is offered to sale, and pays for it, either in his own bills of exchange, or, in the bank notes which he obtained by discounting such bills. And having got possession of the commodity, to raise its price to any extent he pleases, beyond the interest he paid for the notes, he has only to follow the farmer's example, and obtain the notes required to pay his rent, &c. Briefly, my Lords, these are the means, and the only means, by which the farmers, dealers, and bankers unite, their power to filch the consumer of his last shilling; and to subject their country to all the calamities of a real scarcity. The remedy, however, is simple, and, as a choice of evils, if such it could be, it seems to be far preferable to the slow, if sure, degrading attempt to import corn from an enemy, whom we hold at so much defiance. It is only to restrain our numerous banks from issuing their notes, until their value raises, or, the price falls to that level at which it may be thought the mutual interest of the farmers, dealers, bankers, (if they are to exist) and consumer, it should stand. It is true the farmers and dealers claim the right of raising the price of their commodities, as their taxes and rates advance: who then is to pay them, the consumer only? That cannot be, surely; it is impossible to allow them to exempt themselves from taxes, and, therefore, a level of prices should be established, which would, as nearly as possible, leave no party to enjoy the benefits of society, without contributing towards its expences; and far less to accumulate fortunes by its miseries; as farmers, dealers, and bankers must continue to do while they are allowed the use of such facilities as paper money gives them to fix the rate of price at any level they please. Should the interest of the farmers, &c. be pleaded as a bar to the application of this means of lowering prices, it will immediately occur, that importation would deprive them of the profits on which they calculate from public misery, and that this remedy can do no more. But this is not the point on which national honour and national interest will suffer the question to turn. The pivot on which the question turns is this; shall we, at the hazard of every thing, that is dear to us as a nation, and as individuals, submit to the degradation of begging our bread from an Emperor, who must "laugh when "our fear cometh," or be the most magnanimous of men? or, shall we, by the simple means of discharging first, and then finding useful employment for, the able bodied men, who work and manage our town and country rag-money manufactories, manifest to the world, that for Britain to be happy, free, and great, it is only necessary that she should will it? But the statesman and the landholder will perhaps exclaim with horror, what shall we do without the thousands and millions of pounds which we now collect in taxes and rent? Should our rags be converted into dung instead of money? Just what you did before you had them; and that was better than you do with them; for then, in addition to the rags, as manure, you had the labour that converts them into money, and that which money in various ways employs unproductively, to cultivate the land, and bid defiance to such scarcity as that, which at present threatens you with the most serious consequence. But independent of this advantage, and the most solid advantage too, it does not necessarily follow, that the exit of paper money can injure the interest of any class of the community, (that of its proprietors and those whose baseless bills they discount excepted), and to that evil the acquisition of their labour to productive industry is more than an equivalent. But unnecessarily its fall may be attended with fatal consequences. Suppose, for instance, that the exit of paper money would reduce the circulating medium to one tenth of its present amount. In that case, one tenth of the taxes and rents now collected in money, would necessarily yield as much real revenue to the state and the landholders, as the whole ten tenths now produce, while nine tenths of the collectors would be at liberty to join the bankers, &c. in cultivating the land, and multiplying the real revenue of their country, at least to the amount of their own consumption of it. But should avarice or ignorance lead government and the landholders to extort the whole ten tenths of their present nominal revenue, or even more than a tenth of it, while the farmer and the tradesman can sell their produce at but one tenth of its present price, then indeed the consequences of parting with paper money will be unnecessarily calamitous; and the only change produced is, that government and the landholders have snatched the hatchet from the hands of the

bankers, and became themselves the executioners of their country. Hence and hence only the danger of pointing out the means of raising the value of money, without shewing the necessity of lowering rents and taxes in the same proportion.

Oct. 16th, 1809. C. S.

EDINBURGH REVIEWERS.

Sir;—As your correspondents complain of the manner in which the Edinburgh Reviewers have treated of Parliamentary Reform; of the length of their details; of the collateral subjects which they have introduced; of the refinement of their arguments, and the other means by which they have endeavoured to bewilder and mislead their readers, I think an analysis of their system may be of use. By reducing it to a narrow compass, we shall see it in a naked state, stripped of its meretricious trappings, and be enabled to determine that degree of weight which it ought to have in fixing our opinion.—They begin by enumerating, in a very systematic manner, the evils under which we at present labour: 1st, The burden of taxes; 2ndly, The influence of the crown; and 3rdly, The monopoly of the power of the state by a few.—The first of these evils is necessarily included in the last; for whatever abuses exist with regard to taxation originate in the corruption of the government, and whatever part of them can be removed, must be by Parliamentary Reform. The second, they themselves dismiss, by saying that the king has no power. There remains, then, only one question for us to discuss, namely, the last, or that of Parliamentary Reform. On this, the main subject of their consideration, they have, in 30 pages of close print, only two arguments: 1st, That the people are corrupt, and that no reform could render them otherwise; 2nd, That, "as the whole substantial power of government is now manifestly vested in the House of Commons, the balance of the constitution is preserved, and can only be preserved, by being transferred into that house; where a certain proportion of the influence of the crown and of the great families of the land is advantageously, though somewhat irregularly, mingled with the representation of the people."—In answer to the first of these, it is sufficient to say, that a Parliamentary Reform would undoubtedly remedy the corruption of the people as far as it can be remedied; and that it is no argument for rejecting any good to assert, that it is not complete.—As to the second, their extraordinary desire to preserve the constitution, it is a complete piece of sophistry; and consists, as all sophistry does, in an endeavour to impose words for things. They wish to preserve the constitution, without saying that any good would result from its preservation. They abhor a change, and yet would introduce a change to prevent a change. The truth is, they hate only a change for the better, and would not object to any alteration on the present system which would add to its rottenness. Any thing, Mr. Cobbett, will they call the British constitution which favours their own views, and nothing will they call by that name which does not.—The foundation of their second argument is indeed the assumption that all the power of the state resides at present in the House of Commons. But I believe the House of Commons possess no other power than they ever did; the power of granting or withholding the supplies. If recent circumstances have allowed this to be the real power of the state, they prove nothing more than what has been and should be the case. In this consists all the liberty of which we boast; and whenever the Commons are deprived of this power, the constitution is indeed lost and gone. That the other branches of the legislature see their own comparative insignificance, and wish to share the power of the Commons, is no reason for quietly permitting the encroachments, or for confounding all the separate divisions of the state in one illegal intermixture. Yet this adulterous intercourse is the only expedient which the Edinburgh Reviewers recommend for preserving the mutual controul of the different branches of the legislature, and for enabling the king to withstand the encroachments of a democratical House of Commons. According to their doctrines no encroachment indeed remains to be made, and the king, and lords, (who have always been considered as an appendage of the king), would still preserve all the power in the state, which, by the British constitution, they ought to have, that of swaying the balance between the people and their representatives; for great part of the argument of these Reviewers is made out by dropping, with admirable dexterity no doubt, the distinction between the people who chuse, and those who deliberate and judge for them, and calling both by the general

appellation of a Democratical House of Commons. As to insurrection and civil war arising from the king's negativing the bills of the House of Commons, it may be remarked, that this prerogative of the king's is the most rarely used of any. It is for the advantage of the different branches of the legislature, as for people in common life, to practise a mutual forbearance, and to prevent, by timely concessions, all rude collisions in the political machine; and there is no reason to suppose that a reformed House of Commons would urge the king to an exercise of this prerogative more than a corrupt. The king, I believe, has more to fear from Borough-mongers than from his people. The prerogative, which, in case of a difference with his parliament, he would use, is rather that which the Reviewers wish to keep out of view, viz. an appeal to the people by a dissolution. On a new parliament being returned which persisted in passing the same bills, the king, it is to be understood, would concede, if he had not an interest different from the nation; and here it is to be remarked, that this is not the age in which the people are supposed to be made for princes, but princes for the people. The executive is only the hand which ministers to the head or deliberative body of the state; and a good government will always be ordered so as that a king will find his interest to be the same with that of his people. But to conclude this letter, which has been already drawn out to too great length, the doctrines of the Edinburgh Reviewers may be summed up in this, that the House of Commons have assumed a power in the state consistent neither with the constitution nor with expediency, and that the evil can be corrected by nothing but an infusion of royal and aristocratical influence into that assembly to an indefinite extent; while I contend, and every person may perceive, that the House of Commons has assumed no new power, but that the other branches of the legislature have made encroachments on that house consistent neither with the constitution nor expediency, and that nothing can purge it of aristocratical influence and restore it to purity but a Parliamentary Reform. W. Y.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

Sir;—I have been so long in the habit of applauding the principles which apparently direct your political conduct, and so long accustomed to admire your sense of public duty, your discernment of the true interests of nations, and your quick perception of the immediate and remote effects of the various measures of Statesmen, that I really feel an almost insuperable degree of reluctance in questioning the expediency of that project which you have distinctly pronounced to be indispensably requisite to the welfare and stability of the British Empire: I mean a Reformation of Parliament.—But, Sir, were I to decline provoking a more minute discussion of that momentous project than it has, as yet, to my knowledge, undergone, those considerations which actually dispose me to deprecate a general pursuit thereof, must inevitably continue to operate with unabated and effective force; and thus fix me, with reference to one subject at least, in a distressing state of opposition to a person with whom I am solicitous to concur: the contrary of which, in the event of such discussion, though extremely improbable, I shall certainly not presume to say is utterly impossible.

That the influence of the Ministers of the Crown is enormous; that this influance has already proved detrimental, in several respects; and may ultimately become ruinous, are truths, which no ingenuous person, capable of due reflection, can find himself satisfactorily prepared to refute. It falls under the observation of every man conversant in public affairs, that taxes the most burdensome and vexations are, without difficulty, imposed and continued; that scrupulously comprehensive enquiries into the expenditure of public money are either thwarted or rendered abortive; that jobbing, peculation, and corruption, in various shapes, prevail; that the tutelary laws of British liberty are occasionally suspended without urgent necessity; that every measure, however prudential and popular, which happens to originate among the opponents of administration, is enviously and contumeliously resisted with effect; that decisive majorities in Parliament may be obtained by any Minister, on any question; and that the affairs of the Empire are most ineptly conducted, and its resources most egregiously and dangerously mismanaged. It is a truth too obvious to require illustration, that all these and other evils are imputable solely to that influence which the Ministers of the Crown are enabled to exercise. And to affirm that this pernicious influence, operating thus, has already, to a

certain extent, undermined, and, if not seasonably counteracted, must, at no very distant period, subvert, or radically change our unrivalled system of civil polity, will hardly be considered, by unperverted persons, as the idle, unsubstantial declamation of a querulous dissatisfied man.

Under such circumstances, Sir, it is extremely natural that a vast portion of the people of England should be favourably disposed towards any constitutional project calculated to retrench, or confine within safe limits, the influence in question. And certainly that which has of late been again presented to the public mind, namely, a Reformation of Parliament, produced by a disfranchisement of decayed and corrupt boroughs, an extension of the right of suffrage, an abridgement of the duration of Parliaments, and an exclusion of placemen and pensioners from the House of Commons, seems, at first view, so likely to prove efficacious, in the way desired, that there can be little ground for surprise at the growing prevalence of a solicitude for its adoption.

But, Sir, as every change in a system of civil polity may rationally be expected to produce, under the varying aspect of the times, many important effects, which, while the change is in contemplation, cannot possibly be foreseen; inasmuch as the production of these effects is ordinarily governed by combinations of moral or political circumstances, of a casual or emergent nature, which are confessedly beyond the sphere of human foreknowledge; and as the means proposed for accomplishing a Reformation of Parliament are undeniably essential changes, the distant effects whereof no man, however penetrating his foresight, can pretend to anticipate, without a greater degree of presumption than accords with a profound understanding, so it behoves us to examine this pregnant project with peculiar patience, care, and circumspection; to consider seriously whether it be really adequate to the end proposed; whether, if carried into effect, it may not ultimately be productive of greater evils than we actually experience; and whether we may not, with an equal prospect of success, resort, for the attainment of the final object in view, to some other of a more familiar and less hazardous kind.

It seems to be generally received as an indisputable truth, that a reformation of Parliament would completely prevent a corrupt exercise of the patronage of the Crown. But, Sir, I will frankly declare that, until farther informed, I cannot, for my part, avoid considering this fundamental position as a mere plausible assumption, more likely to be disproved than confirmed. And I will add, that instead of regarding the meditated reformation, as a safe and salutary renovation of our system of civil polity, I am greatly apprehensive that, if carried into effect, it may prove a proximate cause of the dissolution thereof. How far I am yet to be undeceived you will easily discover by the following observations.

The preservation of the hereditary rights and liberties of Englishmen, which should always be the paramount object of their public concern, is manifestly connected, in the strictest manner, with the maintenance of the national independence of England. The maintenance of that independence will be found, on reflection, to be utterly incompatible with an uniform adherence to pacific measures, on the part of those who administer the affairs of the nation. To perpetuate that independence, it is certain that recourse must occasionally be had to war. And to prosecute war, with vigour and success, national opulence, resulting from domestic and foreign commerce, must unquestionably be seasonably and sedulously augmented; for to that opulence, at the disposal of able and upright Statesmen, the success of every war, and the eventual stability of the British Empire must always, principally, be proportioned.—If England cease to be belligerent, she must soon cease to be independent; and if she cease to accumulate wealth, she will cease to be in a condition to carry on war with the prospect of a safe and honourable peace. Had it not been for her great and increasing opulence, she certainly could not have resisted her potent and numerous enemies so long as she has done, under an evident mismanagement of her resources. But the necessary wars of England, the progressive increase of taxes requisite to defray the inseparable expences of these wars, and commensurate with the growing wealth of the Empire; and moreover the incidental annexation of foreign colonies to the British Crown, must obviously be accompanied by the distribution of a vast number of honourable and lucrative employments, in the army and navy, in the civil and mercantile lines of business auxiliary to these, in the colonial and diplomatic departments, and in those of

the excise and customs: in other words, an immense and increasing patronage must always exist. The exercise of this patronage, together with the power of bestowing those civil, ecclesiastical, and forensic dignities which emanate from the Crown, must, so long as the preservation of the existing system of civil polity shall be held in view, be consigned to the individuals on whose counsel the King may think proper to rely; for, were it transferred to any other description of persons in the community, it is clear that an extra-constitutional power of superior magnitude would immediately be created; and that an eventual destruction of the system of civil polity would ensue. The public duty of these Counsellors consists in devising, prosecuting, and accomplishing measures for the support of the government, and the general welfare of the Empire: and on the performance of this duty the preservation of their places confessedly depends. But without the concurrence or acquiescence of Parliament in these measures, they cannot possibly be carried into execution. To secure that indispensable concurrence or acquiescence, therefore, the Ministers of the Crown, under the joint impulse of a sense of duty and personal interest, will always naturally resort to those means the efficacy whereof has been experimentally proved. Sound reasoning, persuasive eloquence, and an elaborate display of the expediency of the measures proposed to Parliament, may, possibly, on several occasions, incline that assembly to second the views of Administration. But precedents and reflection have taught the Statesmen of England to beware of relying wholly on such uncertain means for securing an undeviating and satisfactory support of their measures. Armed with the immense patronage of the Crown, and amply convinced, by a long and uninterrupted series of trial, of the invariable efficiency thereof, when exercised with the view of securing Parliamentary support, they will always prudently place their chief, if not exclusive reliance, on its instrumentality; and I am firmly persuaded that so long as ambition and avarice shall hold their places among human passions, this reliance will not be vain. The projected reformation, accompanied by the imposition of new oaths, may undoubtedly prevent a direct, undisguised, and manifestly corrupt exercise of the patronage of the Crown, on the constituent and representative bodies; but a collateral, clandestine, or remotely retributive, and equally effectual exercise thereof cannot thus be impeded. The corrupter and the corruptible, he whose interest prompts him to sway, and he whose passions prepare him to be swayed, he who is ready to give and he who seeks to get, will assuredly, sooner or later, find means to approach, understand and covenant efficiently with each other. We perceive that, in almost every instance, self-interest operates with much greater and more durable energy and activity than zeal for the public good; and have therefore little reason to expect that those who are actuated by the former will, in this instance, fail to outstrip, weary, and finally defeat the few who are animated by the latter. Human ingenuity besides, is always confessedly more likely to succeed in the task of evasion, than in that of prevention.

Suppose, Sir, that with a view to the obstruction of ministerial influence, the elective franchise were extended to all men possessed of clear, independent, yearly incomes of 100*l.* at least, derived either from land, or from any other source? and that all other persons were disqualified to vote for Members of Parliament;—an expedient which would not, upon the whole, narrow the constituent body, and besides precluding the tumults ordinarily attendant on elections, would certainly have a greater tendency than any other to prevent what may be called elemental corrupion, inasmuch as an independent competency, on the part of the elector, is far more likely than any law to frustrate pecuniary or other influence on the part of the candidate; and suppose that these electors were obliged to swear under the heaviest penalties in case of perjury, that they neither did receive, nor were promised, nor had asked any remuneration for their votes; that the candidates under the same penalties, were obliged to swear that they neither gave, nor promised any species of reward to any elector; and that the representatives were obliged to swear at the opening of every session, that they neither had asked for, nor were promised any civil employment, honour, or emolument, in consideration of the support which they might give the executive government, still the patronage of the Crown, would, in my opinion, be, in no degree, rendered ultimately imperative, in its present sphere. If the individuals who gave support were prevented from

asking, and those who obtained it prevented from promising remuneration, a practice which indeed already exists, of bestowing unstipulated, unsolicited rewards, would soon be generally established. Those who had been supported, would, with an eye to futurity, be still more diligent than at present, in searching for opportunities to evince their gratitude. General expectation would be kept alive, and work as forcibly as the most solemn and repeated promises. And, furthermore, an exemption from importunities would enable the distributors of the honours and offices of the state to bestow them in the most suitable, judicious, and effectual manner, with reference to their own personal interests. As for the expedient of obliging the representatives of the people to swear that they would never accept any employment or honour in the gift of the Crown, the reflections of almost every man will sufficiently enable him to discover its ruinous tendency, in the extremely unlikely event of its being ever adopted and established. If, in consequence of having acted, for a few years, as a representative of the people, a man were to be for ever debarred by his oath, from accepting the honour of nobility, and transmitting the rights thereof to his descendants; and if he were likewise to be thus for ever incapacitated to hold any place of trust, or in the state, of what description of men, Sir, would the House of Commons, that most authoritative part of the Legislature, be composed? Certainly not, for the most part, of incorruptible, unaspiring, public-spirited and intelligent men, as some people vainly anticipate; but of a description of persons, from whom to say no worse, much less good, upon the whole, could rationally be expected, than from those of whom it is at present composed.

It may be said, Sir, that admitting the likelihood or certainty of the establishment of the practice just noticed, in the midst of such obstacles, and likewise admitting its efficacy to the extent presumed, there is still at hand an expedient calculated to supersede completely the exercise of the patronage of the Crown, among the representatives of the people: namely, the simple and sanctioned one of granting them liberal salaries.—But, Sir, with regard to this expedient, it is to be observed, that on those who are governed by ambition, on those who aim at distinction in the community, it could produce no effect whatsoever; that if these salaries were not so ample as to be considered in the light of desirable additions to the incomes of individuals, they could not produce the intended effect on the avaricious; and that if they were so, the representatives of the people, at least those among them who might be influenced by the passion of avarice, would ultimately become as complete tools in the hands of their constituents as any of them ever were in those of a minister of the Crown. They would acquiesce as servilely in all the crude, capricious, and dangerous projects of electors, probably under the controul of aspiring demagogues, as any of them have ever done in the impolitic or unconstitutional measures of successive administrations; and the example of France, Sir, ought, I think, to make us beware of the remote effects of subjecting the representatives of the people too much to their dictation. Besides, in these days of luxury, profligacy and venality, it seems not altogether unbecoming to consider, whether if our own Government were restrained from gratifying the avarice of individuals, another government might not address that passion, with dangerous effect.

Let us, however, Sir, for the moment, suppose that Ministerial influence were entirely excluded from the Legislature, and that the persons elected by the people to serve in Parliament, were, for the most part, removed by the magnitude of their private incomes, beyond a likelihood of being swayed in their decisions, by a solicitude to preserve the salary annexed to the office of representative; might it not still be reasonably apprehended, that the various passions, and propensities which belong to human nature, and the different views, interests, and pursuits of individuals would too often conspire to form an irresistible opposition to many of the measures of every Administration? Might it not reasonably be apprehended, if the Ministers of the Crown had no other means of obtaining the concurrence of Parliament in their measures, except such reasoning as they might employ in behalf of them, that superior sophistry, or eloquence, or address, or talents for intrigue, on the part of their opponents, or perhaps even the plausible language of a popular Pamphleteer, would too often govern the determination of Parliament, to the discomfiture and dissolution of the existing Administration! Might it not be apprehended that almost every Administration would

be thus extinguished before the Members thereof had acquired sufficient experience to conduct the affairs of the Empire with facility and advantage? And should we not then be exposed to the manifold inconvenience of a weak, fluctuating, transitory Government, unsatisfactory to its subjects, unfavourable to loyalty, and extremely disadvantageous to the Empire in respect of its foreign relations? If, indeed, there existed any reason to expect that the Representative body, in the event of the reform in question, would contain a majority of wise, steady, disinterested, unambitious, public-spirited, patriotic men, there would remain little ground for these apprehensions; but to entertain and act upon an expectation of this nature, in times like the present, or in truth, in any other times, is, surely, a puerility too manifest to require exposure.

But independently of these considerations it is not likely, Sir, that a disfranchisement of decayed boroughs, an extension of the right of suffrage, an abridgement of the duration of Parliaments, and an exclusion of placemen from the House of Commons, would be productive of certain disadvantages for which perhaps an adequate compensation might not be obtained? It certainly needs no extraordinary exertion of the human imagination to trace out, on rational grounds, many effects of rather an unpropitious nature, which might ensue from the disfranchisement of those boroughs which have hitherto so often supplied the legislature with statesmen and orators of an inferior note—with men, whose laboriously acquired information, cultivated eloquence, and diligently improved powers of reasoning qualified them eminently for the management of state affairs, for guiding, correcting, or confirming the public opinion, and for giving salutary efficiency to the voice of the nation. It certainly is far from difficult to exhibit a series of evils which might possibly arise from involving a greater number of persons than at present in the ferment of elections, and from rendering that ferment almost continuous by frequency of repetition. Nor would it evince superior penetration to detect the varied inconvenience which might be experienced in consequence of excluding, from the great deliberative assembly of the nation, those who might be appointed to administer its affairs. In truth, Sir, if the right of propounding laws were thus, in reality, exclusively exercised by the Lords and Representatives of the people, to whom alone it formally and theoretically belongs, it is not improbable, that, in the event of a removal of the actual influence of the crown, measures inconsistent with the requisite dignity and even safety thereof, tending to the dangerous elevation of parliamentary leaders, would be obtruded upon the executive power; and that the existing system of civil polity would soon, in consequence, assume a new form. The Royal Veto, alone, Sir, is confessedly inadequate to check for any length of time, the possible encroachments or usurpations of a House of Commons influenced by democratic principles.

Such, Sir, are the considerations which incline me to doubt the efficacy of parliamentary reformation: and to deprecate the pursuit of that project. Do you then, I may be asked, deem it prudent, on the part of the people of England, to rest contented upon that corrupt and pernicious exercise of that enormous patronage of the crown which every honest and reflecting man must deeply deplore? Most certainly I do not: for I feel thoroughly persuaded of its direct tendency to endanger the rights and liberties of Englishmen, and the stability of the Empire. But, I am prone to think, that there is not sufficient ground for despairing of the possibility of protecting the people of England against all the dangerous excesses of the influence resulting from that patronage, by a much safer, more simple, and more constitutional expedient than parliamentary reformation. I mean an unfettered, distinct and formal annunciation of the genuine sentiments of the people, on all prevailing practices of an important nature, and on all momentous questions which may at any time agitate the public mind.

Even under the most arbitrary governments, public opinion, if peradventure, it ever reach the ears of the Prince or those of his council, will frequently sway his decisions. In England, whenever fully and loudly expressed, it has almost always had the effect of governing the conduct of administration. To comply with it indeed, to a certain degree, is in most cases a proof of political wisdom: to resist it and scorn it, a proof of rashness, amounting to political insanity. If a great majority of the people of the United Kingdom should be found really adverse to the pursuit, or really solicitous for the

adoption of any measure, or system of measures, it surely cannot be presumed, that any minister would inconsiderately disregard their wishes; and pertinaciously decline to act in conformity therewith. But, Sir, in consequence of the comparative infrequency of public meetings, and also in consequence of the stratagems employed to procure resolutions and addresses favourable or hostile to the views of the existing Administration, it is certain that the real sentiments, especially of the more reflecting and moderate of the people, are far from being always known; and never sufficiently pressed upon the consideration of those in authority. Now, Sir, I am disposed to believe that this disadvantage, affecting both the government and the people, might be effectually removed by the enactment of a specific law, authorising and requiring local meetings of the more respectable inhabitants of the several counties and principal towns to be held every year, on the first Monday after Christmas day, for the purpose of discussing all important questions agitated in the preceding Session of parliament, and reviewing the actual state and exigencies of the nation; limiting the duration of these meetings to a single day; prohibiting all others of a similar nature; and directing that the sentiments of the majority, present at each, be reduced into a few brief resolutions; transmitted, in this shape, to the Clerk of the House of Commons, arranged, printed and distributed, in small volumes, among the Members of Parliament. By this mode of proceeding, as instructive a document, on the subject of public opinion, would be obtained as any legislator or statesman could wish to possess; and there can scarcely be a doubt that the prevailing sentiments of the nation, thus announced, would, on all important questions, govern the conduct of the ministers of the crown, and that of the representatives of the people. The several meetings being composed of persons possessed of clear, independent, yearly incomes of 100*l.* all others being by heavy penalties excluded, the sphere of individual influence would be narrowed; and there would probably be neither riot, uproar, nor confusion, as is too often the case at present. The meetings being held on the same day, throughout the United Kingdom, the resolutions passed at one would have no effect in governing the resolutions of another. The infrequency of these meetings, and their short duration, would completely prevent the assumption of any power which local demagogues might otherwise gradually become enabled to exercise. And the length of time which would elapse between the close of the session of parliament and the day appointed for the meetings, would greatly conduce to an ample, able and temperate discussion of the more important questions which had antecedently engaged the attention of the legislature.

Should this regulated recurrence to a constitutional practice, the safety and efficacy whereof have heretofore so often been experimentally evinced, fail to induce a compliance, on the part of Government, with the reasonable wishes of the people, and a removal of all those scandalous abuses of which they now so justly complain; should the minister, backed by a corrupt majority, contumeliously disregard the reiterated remonstrances of the people, and should the king inflexibly decline to dismiss his minister, after an accumulation of urgent addresses from his subjects to that effect; events which, by the way, are singularly unlikely; then let recourse be had to the dangerous project of parliamentary reformation: for then there will be sufficient ground for considering the reputed representatives of the people as usurpers of their rights, exercising an unconstitutional aristocratic power, pregnant with as much political mischief as could be apprehended to ensue from the project in question. But, Sir, if a spirit of patriotism, a spirit of independence, a spirit of rational liberty, a just sense of public duty and political integrity, prevail in the nation, the avowed and ultimate objects of parliamentary reformation must infallibly be attained by the expedient here proposed. If, indeed, these principles of action be wanting, it may undoubtedly for some time, and in some degree, prove nugatory. But then, Sir, if they be so, a reformation of Parliament, which cannot, without the utmost difficulty and danger, be accomplished, must, upon the whole, be demonstrably of no avail. It may indeed, rescue us, for a short time, from some evils; but it must, in the end, inevitably involve us in others of at least equal magnitude. To attempt a reformation of Parliament, previously to a revival of these principles, is unseasonable, preposterous and dangerous. A recurrence to the expedient here proposed is undeniably safe; and affords the fairest opportunity for diffusing and invigorating those prin-

ciples, which alone can insure an improvement of our political condition,

I am, Sir, with due respect,
Your obedient humble Servant,
THOMAS NEWENHAM.

Coolmore, Cork, Oct. 10, 1809.

CITY JUBILEE ADDRESS TO THE KING.
Nov. 1, 1809.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty: The humble and dutiful Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London in Common Council assembled;

"Most Gracious Sovereign; We the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, of the City of London in Common Council assembled, approach your Majesty's sacred person with our most lively and unfeigned congratulations on the recent Anniversary of your Majesty's Accession to the Throne of these realms; with joy and gladness we hailed the day on which your Majesty entered into the fiftieth year of your Majesty's reign, not only over the persons, but in the hearts of your Majesty's subjects.—When it pleased the Almighty Ruler of Princes to place the sceptre in your Majesty's hands, the brave, free, and loyal people, whom your Majesty was ordained to govern, received with pleasure your Majesty's first declaration to the great Council of the nation, that "born and educated a Briton, the peculiar happiness of your Majesty's life would ever consist in promoting the welfare of your people, and your Majesty's resolution to maintain our most excellent Constitution, both in Church and State, with an assurance that the civil and religious rights of the subject were equally dear to your majesty with the most valuable prerogatives of the Crown."—We experience and acknowledge the blessings of this security to our religion and laws, and that great charter of liberties which, in virtue of the glorious Revolution, your majesty's illustrious house was chosen to defend. Through the lapse of nearly half a century your Majesty has proved yourself, on every occasion, unwearied in the maintenance and practice of all the principles so graciously pledged.—It is a proud subject for your Majesty's faithful Citizens of London to record, that in the midst of all our unexampled struggles, your Majesty is enabled to say, now, as at the commencement of your Majesty's reign, that your Majesty can see with joy of heart the commerce of these Kingdoms, that great source of our riches, and fixed object of your Majesty's never failing care and protection, flourishing to an extent unknown in any former war.—Deeply impressed with gratitude to Almighty God for the innumerable blessings he has been pleased to pour down upon this highly favoured nation, and more particularly for his wonderful and great goodness, in having continued his divine protection to your Majesty until this joyful period, we, your Majesty's faithful Citizens of London, have implored heaven to accept our fervent prayers of praise and thanksgiving, and to continue that same providential care and protection to your Majesty for many years yet to come.—Believe, Sire, that it is the warmest wish and most fervent prayer of your Majesty's Citizens of London, that Providence may long continue to this nation so distinguishing a mark of divine favour, and that in the fullness of time, when your Majesty shall be called from your earthly to a celestial crown, the memory and example of so beloved a Sovereign may secure to a grateful people the imitation of your Majesty's virtues, in the successors of your Royal House, till time shall be no more.

Signed by order of Court,
HENRY WOODTHORPE."

To which Address his Majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious Answer:—"I thank you for this testimony of your zeal and affection for me and my government. It has ever been my anxious care to maintain the rights and privileges of every class of my subjects; and it is a great satisfaction to me to reflect, that, in the midst of all our unexampled struggles, and notwithstanding the duration of the wars in which, for the safety of my people, I have been engaged, the Commerce and Manufactures of my City of London have been carried to an extent unknown at any former period."

They were all received very graciously, and had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand. After which his Majesty was pleased to create the Lord Mayor a Baronet, and conferred the honour of Knighthood on William Plomer, esq. Alderman.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

SPANISH REVOLUTION.—*Proclamation to the Army by the Marquis de Romana.—**(Continued from page* 608.*)*

. . . . . The country has not for some time known your best services;

but the actions of Villa Franca, Vigo, Lugo, Saint Jago and San Payo, where your valour shone, must free you from any stain which you may seem to have incurred by your having refused battles, which must have been destructive; and you have rendered yourselves formidable to your enemies, who have been repulsed and conquered, when the superiority of their numbers did not prevent an obstacle absolutely insuperable to your valour.—Yes, brave Spaniards, in viewing you this day, I have no longer that serenity of mind with which I before ever met you. I am no longer your general. His Majesty has called me to occupy a place in the Supreme Central Junta. Had not this been his irresistible will, nothing should have separated me from you, nor made me renounce the right I have to participate in your future victories, under the command of your new chief, and the generals who command you. Receive, Soldiers, the last word of your general, and accept the love and paternal gratitude of your countryman and companion in arms, THE MARQUIS DE ROMANA.

Royal Decree, dated Seville, Sept. 1.

His Majesty would neither fulfil his own wishes, nor the hopes of his people, if, at the same time, when he labours to free the country from the oppression of its tyrant, he did not make every exertion to correct the vices which exist in the interior administration, and to raise this magnanimous and generous nation to the high degree of splendour and power to which it is entitled by the fruitfulness of its soil, the benignity of its climate, the extension of its coasts, and the possession of its rich colonies. Among the obstacles which have constantly opposed the progress of our agricultural industry and commerce, the first place is held by the contributions, called Alcabalas, Cientas and Millones, imposts, which obstructing the interior circulation, and Pressing unequally on the productions of the land, on manufactures, and, in general, on all objects of commerce, not only have banished from our unfortunate country that liberty, without which there can be neither arts, cultivation, nor commerce; not only have rendered odious the fiscal administration, and even industry itself; but, which is more, inflicting on it incurable wounds, have ever been only a feeble resource for supplying the necessities of the state. Observation and experience have shewn their prejudicial effects; the people have cried out for a remedy; the decline of our manufactures, and the mercantile system unanimously embraced by all the nations of Europe. But though the government knew these defects and reformed them partially, these reforms were a new vice, which only still more embroiled the system. At length the time is arrived when good principles shall triumph over ignorance, and the nation which has appeared great and majestic in the eyes of all Europe by its valour and its virtue, shall be so also by the liberality of its principles and the goodness of its interior administration. The Supreme Junta of government of the kingdom is well convinced, that the riches of individuals are the riches of the state, and that no nation can be rich without encouraging its agriculture, commerce and industry, and that industry in general does not increase but remove the obstacles which may obstruct both the fiscal and civil laws. From these considerations the Supreme Junta cannot omit occupying itself with this work, beginning with the most urgent reform, which is, that of the contribution, and providing in the place of those abolished, others upon such things as can more properly be required to contribute, distributing them equally among the contributors, exacting them in the time and manner least offensive, and collecting them with the least expence possible. Thus the contributions, which are always an evil, shall fall only on those who can contribute, shall be applied to their true objects, and not to the maintenance of an innumerable multitude of tax-gatherers, who are unproductive consumers, and so many hands lost to industry. In consequence therefore of these principles, the King our Lord Don Ferdinand VII. and in his royal name the Supreme Junta of the government of the kingdom decrees as follows: — Art. 1. The contributions known by the name of Alcabalas, Censo, and Millones,* shall be abolished, as soon

* [The Alcabala is a tribute or royal duty which is paid upon every article sold, in the form of a per centage, according to the value of the commodity. This per centage is varied, but all the laws and ordinances respecting it, to remove ambiguity and to prevent exactions, are collected in a book called the Alcabalotorio. There is a Spanish proverb which sufficiently shews the unpopularity of this form of taxation—*Quien descubre la Alcabala*

as those which are appointed to supply their place shall be appropriated and established.—2. The Department of Finance is charged to propose to his Majesty the contributions which shall supply the place of those abolished.—Art. 3. The present Decree shall be printed, published and circulated, in the usual form, from the royal palace of Seville, August 7, 1809.

MARQUIS of ASTORGA, President.
DON MARTIN DE GARAY.

FRANCE.—*Address of his most Serene Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, to the Conservative Senate, Sitting of the 3rd of October,* 1809.

GENTLEMEN; His Imperial and Royal Majesty, taking in with a single glance the present situation of affairs, finds it necessary to order a levy of 36,000 men.—This is the purport of the Decree which is to be submitted to your deliberation, and by which the new levy is imposed upon the new classes of the conscription of the years of 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, and 1810.—Your wisdom will already have discovered the benefit of this arrangement. You will soon be assured that it is the result of a prudent foresight, and of the unceasing anxiety of his Majesty for the public interest.—Whatever, Gentlemen, may be the issue of the negociations at Altenburgh, there are strong indications that the English, after having been driven back from our territories, will endeavour to prolong the war in Spain. The numerous battalions which his Majesty opposes to them in that kingdom, need only be kept up to their full complement, in order to baffle all the attempts of the enemy.—If the peace be renewed between France and Austria, it will be impossible, without great inconvenience, to suddenly transport the brave troops who will have conquered it, from the Banks of the Danube to those of the Guadalquivir. This remark has not escaped the paternal attention of his Majesty; and let us be persuaded, that, after such glorious exertions, he is desirous, and with justice, that the conquerors should receive the testimonies of public gratitude and general admiration.—These points, Gentlemen, will be explained to you by the Orators of the Council of State, and more particularly in the Report of the Minister of War; which the Emperor has ordered him to communicate to you.—The levy required is, moreover, much less than his Majesty could draw from the classes by which it is to be supplied; besides, it will be rendered as little burdensome as possible.—In this crisis the Senate will be anxious, as on former occasions, to forward the intentions of our august Sovereign, for the honour and glory of the French people.

Report made to His Majesty the Emperor and King, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, by His Excellency Count de Huneburgh, Minister of War, Sept. 15, 1809.

SIRE; If the numerous victories of your Majesty, and the extraordinary successes of your armies, be at the same time the work of your genius, the result of the most scientific military combinations, of your inherent intrepidity, and of the courage of so many brave men, these victories and successes are no less owing to your admirable foresight. It is this which has inspired your Majesty with the idea of assembling at first, in the interior of the empire, whatever might be the complexion of affairs, the youth of France who are successively called to serve their country, and of making them constantly pay their contribution to the safety of the State, at the same time that they accustom themselves to arms.—The temporary dereliction of this system would be productive of some danger to the empire, and it would be placing rather too great a reliance upon

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ese lo paga. "Whoever informs of the Alcabala should pay it." In the Recopilacion de los Lues the superior clergy and judges are exempted from it.—The Censo, which has been improperly called Ciensos and Ciensas, in the newspapers, is a rate collected on the rents of houses and estates. —The Millones is an aid that the kingdom granted to the Sovereign on the consumption of six articles of domestic use, wine, vinegar, oil, butcher's meat, soap, and tallow candles. Among the accommodations at court, in the Council of Finances, there is an apartment called the Sala de Millones. In this room or hall the affairs relating to this due to the king, are transacted, as well as some others regarding the tax on tobacco, cocoa, and a few other commodities. The persons appointed to superintend this business consist of some members of the Council of Finances, and several deputies nominated by such of the cities of Spain as have authority to vote for representatives (Procuradores) in the Cortes.]

the future, however flattering appearances might be at present, to suffer the *depots* in the interior of France to want the regular supply of recruits, whenever a part of the young soldiers who fill them should be called into actual service.—A short glance at the state of your Majesty's armies will be sufficient to shew, that the levy, which I feel it my duty to propose, is sufficient at present.—Master of Vienna, and of more than half the Austrian Monarchy, your Majesty is at the head of the most formidable army that France ever had beyond the Rhine ; and to judge of what it is capable of effecting, it is only necessary to mention, that it was hardly formed when it conquered Austria, in the fields of Thaun, of Abersberg, and of Eckmuhl. Whether the negociations of Altenburgh terminate in peace, or whether the war continue, your Majesty has in your *depots* troops enough, fit to take the field, to recruit your army in Germany.—In the month of January your Majesty pursued the English army in Gallicia. While you were engaged in it, your Majesty was informed that the Court of Vienna intended to break its engagements. Though such an event seemed to call the principal part of your forces into Germany, your Majesty nevertheless thought proper to leave your veteran army in Spain ; not that the whole of that army was actually necessary to complete the subjugation of the Spanish rebels, but to deprive England of the possibility of prolonging that rebellion, of which she is the cause. That power, seeing in the new system established in Spain, the presage of her own ruin, did not, however, despair of overturning it ; and her efforts upon this occasion have greatly surpassed all that we have seen her make upon similar occasions.—General Moore had not been able to bring off from Gallicia the half of his troops. The immense losses which his army sustained, did not dissuade the English Government from sending a fresh army, consisting of 40,000 men, to Lisbon. It penetrated to the centre of Spain, and rallied round it the various corps of insurgents. The banks of the Alberche and the Tagus witnessed their flight and their confusion. Compelled to retreat to the further side of that river, and pursued at the point of the bayonet, they totally evacuated Spain, and the Portuguese saw them return in disorder to their territory. —At the same period, an army of equal force suddenly made its appearance at the entrance of the Scheldt, with the intention of burning the dock-yards at Antwerp ; there our enemies were covered with confusion. At their approach, Flushing was provided with a numerous garrison ; 12,000 picked troops marched from St. Omer, under the orders of the Senator General Rampon ; and eight demi-brigades of reserve, which were at Boulogne, Louvaine, and Paris, proceeded post, to the points that were menaced.—These troops were of themselves sufficient for the defence of Antwerp. That place, which is covered by a strong rampart, and the advanced works which your Majesty caused to be constructed four years ago, is still further protected by extensive inundations ; and on the left bank of the Scheldt, the fort of La Tete de Flandre, which is itself surrounded by an inundation of 2,000 toises, secures the communication of Antwerp with our fortresses in the north.—The English Expedition was formed upon the supposition, that Antwerp was only an open city, whereas that fortress could not be taken but after a long siege. Independent of troops of the line, your Majesty saw, at the first signal, 150,000 national guards ready to march, and at their head the majors of your infantry, officers of the fifth battalions, and veteran officers ; you found in their ranks a number of old soldiers.—Numerous detachments of cavalry of the line were preceded by the *gens-d'armerie* of France. The English were not aware that this branch of force alone could, at a moment's notice, assemble at any given point 60 squadrons, composed of men that had seen sixteen years of service, all equally experienced, equally well disciplined and armed as those brave cuirassiers, who, under your Majesty's orders, have brought to so high a pitch the glory of the French cavalry.—As if by enchantment, the dispositions prescribed by your Majesty caused to appear, at the same instant, on the banks of the Scheldt, and at the rendezvous of the reserve at Lisle and Maestricht, four different armies, under the command of Marshal the Prince of Ponte Corvo, and Marshals the Dukes of Cornegliano, Valmy, and Istria.—The sudden developement of such a force, and the national impulse which continued to multiply its numbers, struck the enemy with consternation. Their enterprise, calculated upon false *data*, completely failed.—Europe has witnessed the realization of that which your Majesty's penetration anticipated, when you pro-

nounced that this expedition originated in ignorance and inexperience; and when, sparing of French blood, and directing that a plan merely defensive should be followed, you wrote to me;—'We are happy to find the English crowding into the marshes of Zealand; let them be merely kept in check, and their army will be speedily destroyed by the bad air, and the epidemic fevers of that country.' Whilst our troops were distributed in comfortable cantonments in the environs of Antwerp, or stationed in that fortress, the English army, encamped in the midst of marshes, and destitute of water fit for drinking, lost upwards of one-third of its soldiers. But the facility which the English have of going by sea from one quarter to another, may lead us to expect that all that will have escaped the disasters of this expedition, will be sent to reinforce their army in Portugal.—Sire, the various fields of battle in which your armies have distinguished themselves, are too remote from each other to admit of your marching, without inconvenience to the soldier, one of your armies, from one scene of action to the other; and your Majesty, so highly satisfied with the zeal of the troops you command beyond the Danube, is anxious to spare them from the fatigues of the war in Spain. Besides, the French armies beyond the Pyrenees, now consist of 300 battalions and 150 squadrons. It is therefore sufficient, without sending any additional corps thither, to keep up at their full establishment those already there. Thirty thousand men, collected at Bayonne, afford the means of accomplishing this object, and of repulsing any force which the English may cause to advance.—In this state of things, I conceived that it corresponded with your Majesty's views to limit the levy, necessary at this moment, to the contingent indispensably requisite for replacing, in the battalions of the interior, the drafts which are daily made from them. The returns which will be laid before your Majesty will inform you, that, of the conscription for the years 1806-7-8-9 and 10, there still remain more than 80,000, who, though ballotted, have not yet been called into actual service. This immense reinforcement might march against your enemies, should that measure be rendered necessary by any imminent danger to the State. I propose to your Majesty to call out only 36,000, and to declare all those classes entirely free from any future call. —By this means, your armies, Sire, will be maintained at their present respectable establishment, and a considerable number of your subjects will be definitively released from the conscription. Your Majesty will also have at your disposal, the 25,000 men afforded by the class of 1811, upon whom I shall not propose to your Majesty to make any call, unless events should disappoint your hopes and pacific intentions. Your Majesty's armies are equally formidable from their numbers as from their courage. But who could advise France not to proportion her efforts to those of her enemies? In giving such advice, the result of the most imprudent security, it would be necessary to forget that Austria, very lately, had on foot 700,000 men; and that to create this gigantic force, that Power did not hesitate to expose her population to almost total destruction, and to attack the very basis of her prosperity. We must equally forget, that England has taken part in the Continental War, by landing, at the same moment, three different armies, on the coasts of Naples, Holland, and Portugal. —The agitation of those who are jealous of France has been redoubled, because they are conscious that the present crisis has for ever fixed her greatness. Their efforts will be impotent, because France has been enabled to reach the highest pinnacle of success and of glory, without making any of those ruinous sacrifices which destroy her enemies. In fact, notwithstanding the successive calls, up to the present moment, made upon the different classes of conscripts, scarcely have one-fourth of those who composed them taken the field.—In considering the situation of your Majesty's armies and the results of the English expeditions, can we, without a degree of satisfaction, behold England, in imitation of Austria, making efforts disproportionate to her means, and the wants of her navy? What can she expect from this contest upon land, and man to man, with France, that shall not redound to her own injury and disgrace? —Sire, the French people will have to thank your Majesty for the inexpressible advantage and glory of a peace, conquered without maritime expeditions, from an enemy who, by his situation, thought himself free from all attack. Every serious attempt upon the Continent, on the part of the English, is a step towards a general peace.—The English Ministers, who preceded the Members of the present Government, a more able set of men than the latter, were well convinced of this

truth, and took good care not to commit themselves in an unequal contest. It did not escape their observation, that, to carry on a long war, it was necessary that it should press lightly upon the people who had to support it.—Within the last twelve months, the war has cost England more blood than she had previously shed from the period when she broke the peace of Amiens: committed in the battles of Spain and Portugal, whence her duty and her interest forbid her to recede, she will see those countries become the tomb of her bravest warriors. Sorrow for their loss will at length produce in the minds of the English people a well-founded abhorrence of those cruel men, whose ambition and frantic hatred dared to pronounce the expression of *eternal war*. It will excite in that people the wish for a general peace, which every man of good sense may predict to be near at hand, if the English persist in a continental contest.—I am with respect, &c.

The Minister at War,
COUNT DE HUNNEBURGH.

Report of the Motives of the Projet of the Senatus Consultum, relative to a Levy of 36,000 Conscripts, on the classes of 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, and 1810, by the Count de Cessac, Orator of the Council of State.

This Report, after many adulations on the genius of the Emperor and King, and a high-coloured panegyric on the loyalty and exertions of the French nation, proceeds to explain the causes of the levy:—"The enemies of France," says the Orator, "observing that we levied the classes of 1809, and 1810, before the period in which they were to be called into action, thought, without doubt, that we had recourse to that mode, because none of the resources of former years were left to us. How great was their mistake! If the French Government had adopted that line of conduct, it was because it could never be brought to think that the English Government had determined to wage perpetual war with France; it was because it could never be brought to think that the Austrian Government, to which peace was so important, so necessary—that that Government, to which a liberal and unexpected peace had been granted, had a right to cope again with the French armies, directed by Napoleon the Great, and electrified by his presence. Our Emperor, therefore, calculating upon a speedy and long peace, was willing to divide the weight of the war among several classes, in order that it might press the lighter upon each of them. He was also desirous that the French, who constituted these two classes, and who, according to the proper estimate of public duties, might have been deprived of their share of military glory, should be furnished with an opportunity of acquiring it. Disappointed in his first expectations, the Emperor had recourse to those supplies of men which he had, from principles of prudence, left in reserve. Twice did he apply for succours, and twice were the contingents which he deemed necessary furnished with rapidity. Our moderation had thrown a veil over our strength, but our moderation is desirous now of manifesting our strength. Let us put an end to an error so fatal to our enemies, and which may become still more disastrous to them! When they shall be well acquainted with our resources, they will, no doubt, be convinced that a frank and solid peace is the only part, the only post in which they can find safety. It belongs to weak governments to seek for security in the concealment of their weakness, and the exaggerations of their strength. It is the duty of France to make known to her friends and enemies her true situation; that situation is such as to inspire the former with more energy, and to warn the latter, that, in taking up arms, they must expose themselves to certain loss. The following, Senators, is the precise state of the conscriptional force of France, and I can pledge myself for its accuracy: The class of 1806 consisted of 423,000, according to the lists of conscription.

That class comprising 15 months	423,000
That of 1807 - - - - - - - - - -	352,000
1808 - - - - - - - - - -	361,000
1809 - - - - - - - - - -	362,000
1810 - - - - - - - - - -	362,000
Total - - - - -	1,867,000

Of these classes, until the present moment, there have been raised but 520,000 men.

1806 - - - - - - -	102,500
1807 - - - - - - -	102,500
1808 - - - - - - -	102,500
1809 - - - - - - -	102,500
1810 - - - - - - -	110,000
	520,000

There consequently remains still at home, of the five classes, 1,317,000 men."

The Orator next proceeds to shew the great facility with which the new levy must be raised, leaving an immense number still behind, and argues that such resources will be the most efficacious means of reducing the English to the necessity of demanding a peace, which, however necessary to France, is indispensable to them, because their very existence may perhaps depend upon it.

AMERICA.—*British Deserters. Case of the Men arrested as Deserters from the Frigate L'Africaine, by John Hunter, esq. Sheriff of Baltimore, at the request of William Wood, esq. British Consul for the Port of Baltimore.*

An Habeas Corpus was applied for to Judge Scott, late on Thursday evening, on behalf of seven men, arrested and held in custody by the Sheriff, at the request, and on the statement of the British Consul that they were deserters, by their counsel. The Habeas Corpus was issued as prayed for, returnable the next morning at nine o'clock. Accordingly, this morning, the men were brought up amidst an immense concourse of citizens, who filled the court-house and the neighbouring street, and the Sheriff made return that he had arrested and detained the men in custody, in virtue of the following, from the British Consul:

"*British Consul's Office, Baltimore, Sept. 6*, 1809.

"Sir; Having received information that 13 seamen have deserted from L'Africaine frigate, and are now in this city, I have to request that you will be pleased to secure them till they can be sent on board.—I am, &c. WM. WOOD."

"John Hunter, Esq.

By virtue of this authority, I have arrested and put in prison the following persons, to wit: John Nowland, William Whokes, Denis Murphy, Richard Hewes, John Earp, John Burwell, and Jacob Lamb.—The Judge said, that he had conceived it his duty to give notice to Mr. Wood (the British Consul), of the application, so that he might appear and shew cause, if any he had, why the men should be detained.

In the course of a few minutes Mr. Wood came into Court, and the Counsel for the Prisoners, Messrs. Glenn and J. L. Donaldson, moved the Court that the men be discharged, sufficient cause for their detention not appearing on the return. Mr. Wood's Counsel, Mr. Walter Dorsey, requested to be allowed time to inquire into the law; and said, that they would be ready to prove that these men were deserters from his Britannic Majesty's Ship. The Counsel for the Prisoners objected to the delay. The Chief Justice stated, that the opinion of the Secretary of State had satisfied him, that deserters from British vessels ought not to be arrested or detained under the authority of the Government of the United States, for the purpose of delivering them up to the officers of the British Government, he therefore ordered the prisoners to be immediately discharged. The audience expressed their approbation of his decision by three loud and tumultuous huzzas and execrations of the Tories, and carried off the deserters in triumph!

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